

THE JEROBOAM-AHIJAH ENCOUNTER ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS

BY

CHRISTOPHER T. BEGG

Just prior to his closing notices (1 Kgs 11:41-43) for Solomon, the Deuteronomist introduces (11:26-40) a character who will figure prominently in the next three chapters of 1 Kings, i.e. Jeroboam, son of Nebat. Over the last three or more decades, 1 Kgs 11:26-40 has been the object of much text-, literary- and redaction-critical study.¹ In this connection there has been likewise considerable discussion regarding the nature of the relationship between the opening presentation of Jeroboam in MT 1 Kgs 11:26-40 and the traditions about him preserved in the LXX “supplement”, 3 Rgns 12:24a-z.² My purpose in this essay is to examine a post-Biblical version of 1 Kgs 11:26-40, i.e. that found in Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) 8.205-210.³ My investigation will proceed by way of a detailed comparison between the Josephan passage and its Scriptural source as represented by the following major witnesses: MT (BHS), Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)⁴ and the Lucianic (hereafter L) or

¹ For a recent contribution to this discussion with extensive references to the earlier literature, see G.N. Knoppers, *Two Nations under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies*, Vol. I. *The Reign of Solomon and Rise of Jeroboam* (HSM 52; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), pp. 186-206.

² On the supplement, see: Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 172-172-179; S.L. McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (VTSup 42; Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 21-40 (in what follows I will use the translation of the supplement given by McKenzie on pp. 25-26); Z. Talshir, *The Alternative Story of the Division of the Kingdom: 3 Kingdoms 12:24a-z* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 6; Jerusalem: Simor, 1993).

³ For the text and translation of the works of Josephus I use the edition of H.St.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren, and L.H. Feldman (eds.), *Josephus* (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press/London: Heinemann, 1926-1965 [*Ant.* 8.205-210 is found in Vol. V., pp. 680-685 where the translation and notes are by Marcus]). I have likewise consulted the text and apparatus of *Ant.* 8.205-210 found in B. Niese, *Flavii Josephi Opera*, II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1955), pp. 221-222. On the overall Josephan treatments of the human antagonists of 1 Kgs 11:26-40 (*Ant.* 8.205-210), see L.H. Feldman, “Josephus’ Portrait of Jeroboam”, *AUSS* 31 (1993) 29-52; idem, “Josephus’ Portrait of Solomon”, *HUCA* 66 (1995) 103-167. For a detailed discussion of Josephus’ handling of the subsequent Biblical materials concerning Jeroboam (1 Kgs 12:1-14:20; 2 Chronicles 10-13) in *Ant.* 8.212-286, see C.T. Begg, *Josephus’ Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8, 212-420)* (BETL 108; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), pp. 7-112.

⁴ For B I use the edition of A.E. Brooke, N. Maclean and H.St.J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*, II:II I and II Kings (Cambridge:

Antiochene MSS⁵ of the LXX and Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets (hereafter TJ).⁶ In carrying out this comparison, I aim to see what can be learned regarding questions like: Which Biblical text-form(s) did Josephus have available in composing *Ant.* 8.205-210? How too does Josephus' introductory presentation of Jeroboam in this passage relate to the alternative account concerning him in 3 Rgns 12:24a-z, is there evidence of the historian's familiarity with this account or not? Finally, what kind of changes of the source data has he introduced and what were his reasons for and the effect of his making these? In turning now to my comparison itself, I divide up the relevant parallel material into three segments as follows: 1) Opening framework narrative (1 Kgs 11:26-30// *Ant.* 8.205-206); 2) Ahijah's sign and oracle (1 Kgs 11:31-39// *Ant.* 8.207-208); 3) Closing framework narrative (1 Kgs 11:40// *Ant.* 8.209-210).

Opening Framework Narrative

The prophetic sign and its verbal elucidation which Jeroboam receives from Ahijah in 1 Kgs 11:31-39 are preceded by various introductory notices concerning the two characters in 11:26-30. The latter segment opens (v. 26) with some particulars concerning Jeroboam, i.e. his parentage, hometown, tribal affiliation, and the fact that he too "raised his hand against Solomon" (so MT).⁷ Josephus' parallel highlights the fact of Jeroboam's "revolting" by mentioning the fact even prior to the culprit's name and by its specification that this revolt — unlike the previously — mentioned ones of Hadad the

Cambridge University Press, 1930). Recall that B 3 Rgns 11:26-40 is part of one of the so-called "non-kaige" segments of this MS, i.e. 3 Rgns 2:12-21:43. Such segments are those where B has not been subjected to assimilation to the text of (proto-) MT to the same degree as have its "kaige" sections (2 Rgns 11:2-3 Rgns 2:11; 3 Rgns 22:1-4 Rgns 25:30); they are often viewed as representing the "Old Greek" of Reigns. On the subject, see J.D. Schenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (HSM 1; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 11-18.

⁵ For L I use the edition of N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega*, II. 1-2 Reyes (TECC 53; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1992). It has been long and widely held that, for the Historical Books from 1 Samuel on, Josephus' primary Biblical text was a proto-Lucianic one, see L.H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937-1980)* (Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 166-170.

⁶ For TJ I use the text of A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, II (Leiden: Brill, 1959) and the translation of this by D.J. Harrington and A.J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible 10; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987). Contentually, TJ 1 Kgs 11:26-40 does not differ significantly from MT.

⁷ This last indication is absent in BL 3 Rgns 11:26. Its absence there is perhaps due to haplography given that the same phrase recurs in 11:27, thus, e.g., S. DeVries, *1 Kings* (WBC 12; Waco, TX: Word, 1985), p. 147, *ad loc.*

Edomite and Rezon the Syrian (see 1 Kgs 11:14-25 // *Ant.* 8.199b-204)⁸ — originated with one of Solomon's own fellow "countrymen". The historian's (initial) rendition of the data of 11:26 reads then: "There also rose up against (ἐπιτίθεται)⁹ Solomon one of his own countrymen (ἑμοφύλων),¹⁰ Jeroboam (Ἰεροβοάμω)¹¹ the son of Nabataios (Ναβαταίου)...".¹² Before continuing with his reproduction of the remaining data of 11:26, Josephus first pauses to explain how it was that even a "countryman" of Solomon's would have ventured to revolt against that powerful king: "(Jeroboam)... who had faith in his chances of success because of a prophecy (προφητεῖαν) that had been made to him *long before* (πάλαι)".¹³ In inserting this remark here Josephus is obviously looking ahead to Ahijah's discourse in 11:31-39. More proximately, however, he is also "anticipating" the editorial heading of 11:27a "this was the reason (so RSV, MT **הדבר**, BL τὸ πρῶγμα) why he (Jeroboam) raised his hand against the king". Thereafter, Josephus returns to the wording of 11:26 in order to present an amplified version of its reference to Jeroboam's mother: "for he had been bereaved of his father when still a

⁸ On this material, see C.T. Begg, "Solomon's Two 'Satans' according to Josephus", *Biblical Notizen* 85 (1996) 44-55.

⁹ Note the use of the historic present form here. Josephus very frequently introduces this form where the LXX has some past form, see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, pp. 10-11, n. 32. Also to be noted is Josephus' substitution of the above prosaic verb for the figurative language of the source ("raise the hand against"). This too is a characteristic Josephan stylistic technique in his rewriting of the Bible, one that he shares, in many cases (though not in that of 1 Kgs 11:26 itself) with TJ, see *ibid.*, p. 279 and n. 1829. Likewise worthy of note is the interpretation of the Biblical reference to Jeroboam's "raising his hand" against Solomon put forward by R. Nahman as quoted in *b. Sanh.* 101b, i.e. the former, in an insulting gesture, removed his phylacteries in the king's presence.

¹⁰ Josephus uses this term with considerable frequency (some 100x), always in reference to Jews. On it see A. Schlatter, *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht von Flavius Josephus* (BFCT 2/26; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1932), p. 80; K.H. Rengstorff (ed.), *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, III (Leiden: Brill, 1979), s.v. The term is Josephus' generalizing substitute for the specification of Jeroboam as "an Ephraimite" in 11:26. Noting that Josephus uses the same term in the context of his denunciations of the Zealots of his time (see, e.g., *Bellum Judaicum* [hereafter *BJ*] 1.27), Feldman, "Jeroboam", 43-45, suggests that Josephus' accentuation of the fact that Jeroboam revolted against Solomon notwithstanding his being a "fellow-countryman" of the king is designed to assimilate the rebel Jeroboam to the contemporary Jewish revolutionaries whom Josephus so abhorred. Feldman finds other indications of this literary technique elsewhere in Josephus' presentation of Jeroboam, see below.

¹¹ This is the declined form of the name as found in BL, i.e. Ἰεροβοάμω (= MT).

¹² MT Nebat; BL Ναβάζθ.

¹³ In specifying here that a "long time" had elapsed between Ahijah's prophecy and Jeroboam's revolt, Josephus goes beyond the Bible itself which leaves the chronological relationship between the two events quite indeterminate. In what follows I shall italicize elements of Josephus' presentation like the above which have no equivalent in the Biblical text as such.

child and was brought up by his mother...".¹⁴ 1 Kgs 11:26 ends by calling Jeroboam the "servant (MT עֶבֶד, BL δοῦλος) of Solomon", while 11:27b goes on to speak of the king's strengthening of Jerusalem's defenses ("Solomon built the Millo [LXX τὴν ἄκρην], and closed up the breach of the city of David...") without specifying what role — if any — Jeroboam himself had in this project. Josephus elucidates the point with a formulation that makes clear both that Jeroboam was in fact involved in the undertaking and how he came to be so, "anticipating" the latter item from 11:28b ("and when Solomon saw that the young man was industrious, he gave him charge...") It runs: "... and Solomon seeing (εἶδε, so BL 11:28) that he was of a noble and daring spirit (γενναῖον καὶ τολμηρὸν ... τὸ φρόνημα),¹⁵ appointed (κατέστησεν, so BL 11:28) him overseer (ἐπιμελητήν) of the building of the walls (τείχεων) when he surrounded (περιέλαβεν) Jerusalem with defenses".¹⁶ Having thus attributed, via anticipation of 11:28bα, Jeroboam's

¹⁴ Compare MT 11:26 "and the name of his mother was Zeruah, a widow woman". Like BL ("son of a widow woman"), Josephus does not mention the name of Jeroboam's mother. This "omission" corresponds to the further absence in his version of 11:26 of the name of Jeroboam's hometown ("of Zaredah", MT/ ἐκ τῆς [B, L γῆς] Σαρειρά). Also elsewhere Josephus frequently passes over minor personal and geographical names cited in the Bible, doubtless with a view to not putting off Gentile readers to whom such names would be strange-sounding, see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, p. 277, n. 1825. Finally, note that the above notice gives no evidence for Josephus' familiarity with either of the particulars concerning Jeroboam's mother found in 3 Rgns 12:24b, i.e. her name ("Sarira", etc.; compare MT 11:26 "Zeruah") and her status as a "harlot" (BL γυνή πόρνη). L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, VI (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1939), p. 305, n. 2 suggests that the latter indication in 3 Rgns 12:24b "is perhaps an old haggadic explanation of her name... צרע [so 1 Kgs 11:26 MT], literally 'leper'".

¹⁵ Compare the statement of 11:28bα about Solomon's "seeing" that Jeroboam was "industrious" (so RSV, MT מְלָאכָה עָשָׂה, BL ἀνὴρ ἐργων). With the above characterization of Jeroboam, compare Josephus' formulation concerning the reprobate Nimrod ("Nebrodes") in *Ant.* 1.113 τολμηρὸς... καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος. With Josephus' qualification of Jeroboam as τολμηρὸς here in 8.205 compare also 8.265 where he speaks of Jeroboam exceeding even the "reckless acts" (τῶν τετολμημένων) already perpetrated by him. Josephus' above adjectival collocation for Jeroboam ("noble and daring") might be seen as his combined version of the two phrases separately applied to him in 11:28, first in the editorial comment of v. 28a that the youth was "very able" (so RSV, MT גִּבּוֹר חֵיל, BL ἰσχυρὸς δυνάμει), and then in the reference to Solomon's "seeing" that Jeroboam was "industrious" in v. 28bα (see above).

¹⁶ The above wording echoes Josephus' notice in 8.150 (cf. 1 Kgs 9,15 with its mention of Solomon's building "the wall of Jerusalem"): "Now when the king saw that the walls (τείχη) of Jerusalem needed towers and other defenses for security — for he thought that even the surrounding walls (περιβόλους) should be in keeping with the dignity of the city — he repaired them and raised them higher with great towers". Also to be noted is that Josephus' explicit linking, in 8.205, of Jeroboam with Solomon's building project as cited in 11:27b has a certain parallel in the supplement of 3 Rgns 12:24a-z, see its v. 24b (*fine*) "He (Jeroboam) it was who built the *millō* (Greek τὴν ἄκρην) with the levies of the house of Ephraim. It was he who closed in the city of David...". In contrast to the tradition of 3 Rgns 12:24b, *b. Sanh.* 101b represents Jeroboam, not as overseeing Solomon's closing up the breaches of Jerusalem, but

role in the building project to Solomon's "seeing" of his innate abilities, Josephus has then to provide a different motivation for the "promotion" which he next, in line with 11:28bβ, has the king confer upon him. His notice (8.206a) on the matter accordingly states: "*And so well did he supervise the work* (τῶν ἔργων, cf. BL 11:28's qualification of Jeroboam as ἀνὴρ ἔργων) *that the king marked him with his approval and as a reward gave* (ἔδωκεν, BL 11:28 κατέστησεν¹⁷) *him the command* (στρατηγίαν) *over the tribe of Joseph* (ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου φυλῆς, compare BL 11:28 *fine* ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρσεις οἴκου Ἰωσήφ)".¹⁸ Noteworthy in the above formulation is likewise Josephus' elimination of the source reference — found also in 3 Rgns 12:24b — to the "forced labor (MT סבל, BL ἄρσεις)¹⁹ of the house of Joseph". Josephus' procedure here is likely inspired by a concern to harmonize the phraseology of 11:28 with the affirmation of 1 Kgs 9:22 // 2 Chr 8:9 according to which Solomon "made no slaves of the people of Israel" — this in contrast to the non-Israelite population which he did make "a forced levy of slaves" (so 9:21 // 8:8).²⁰

Ahijah's Sign and Oracle

Events take a new turn in 1 Kgs 11:29a as Jeroboam, upon leaving Jerusalem, encounters the prophet Ahijah on the way. Josephus (8.206b) recounts this development in close parallelism to his source: "Now, as Jeroboam on

rather as protesting to Solomon against this measure which was designed to limit access to Jerusalem on the part of pilgrims who, thereby, would be forced to use the tollgates, the proceeds of which were to go to the king's Egyptian wife. According to R. Johanan (*ibid.*) Jeroboam deserved the kingship for his denunciation of the royal scheme.

¹⁷ Recall that this LXX term was "anticipated" by Josephus in speaking of Solomon's "appointing" (κατέστησεν) Jeroboam as overseer of the wall-building in 8.205.

¹⁸ 3 Rgns 12:24b supplies further indications concerning Jeroboam's time of service to Solomon to which Josephus, once again (see n. 13), has no parallel, i.e. his building of Sareira (the name of Jeroboam's hometown according to 3 Rgns 11:26) in the Ephraimite hill country for the king and his having 300 chariots.

¹⁹ Compare TJ 1 Kgs 11:28 which speaks of the "tribute bearers (מסקי מסין) of the house of Joseph".

²⁰ Josephus picks up and expatiates on this source statement in 8.161 "But of the Hebrews [in contrast to the Cannanites from whom Solomon raised a yearly levy to be his slaves, see 8.160] no one was a slave- nor was it reasonable, when God had made so many nations subject to them, from among whom they ought to raise their force of serfs, that they themselves should be reduced to that condition...". On the other hand, it should be noted that, like Kings, Josephus' presentation on the matter of the Israelites' status under Solomon does not seem altogether consistent in that he takes over (see 8.58-59a) the former's reference, see 1 Kgs 9:13, to Solomon's "raising a forced levy out of all Israel" (compare 2 Chr 2:17-18 where it is rather "all the aliens in the land of Israel" who are put to forced labor).

that occasion (κατ' ἐκείνουν τὸν καιρόν, BL ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ)²¹ was going out of Jerusalem,²² there met (συνεβόλησε²³, B εὔρεν [= MT], L εἶδεν) him a prophet (προφήτης, BL ὁ προφήτης = MT אֶחֱיָהּ) from the city of Silo (ἐκ πόλεως Σιλω, BL ὁ Σηλωνεῖτης) named Achias (Ἀχίας,²⁴ compare MT אֶחֱיָהּ, B Ἀχίας, L Ἀχία)...²⁵ MT 11:29b proceeds immediately to a description of Ahijah's vesture. Conversely, BL evidence a plus prior to this, one picking up on the reference, at the end of v. 29a, to the prophet's meeting Jeroboam "on the way". This reads "and he (Ahijah) caused him (Jeroboam) to turn from the way (καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ)".²⁶ Josephus, for his part, presents, at this juncture, a reading which looks like an *Ausmalung* of BL's plus: "... and, *having greeted Jeroboam*,²⁷ he led him away from the road (ἀπὸ γὰρ ἔκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, compare BL above) *and went aside a little distance to a spot where there was no one else*".²⁸

Both MT and BL 11:29bα "interrupt" the flow of the narrative in order to mention that Ahijah had "clad himself with a new garment". Thereafter, 11:30 informs us that the prophet "took hold" of the "new garment" he was wearing and "tore it into twelve pieces". Josephus (8.207a) conflates into a single sequence²⁹ the source's double mention of the garment worn by the

²¹ Note that Josephus simply reproduces the vague chronological indication of the Bible here; neither provides any further specification regarding "that time" to which they date Jeroboam's departure from Jerusalem. See next note.

²² Like the Bible, Josephus provides no indication as to either Jeroboam's motive for leaving Jerusalem on this occasion or his intended destination, see previous note. According to R. Hanina b. Papa as cited in *b. Sanh.* 102a the sense of the phrase "Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem" in 1 Kgs 11:29 is that thereby Jeroboam was excluding himself from the benefits held in store for the city.

²³ The codices M²SPE as well as the *Chronicon* of Zonaras read συνήτησε here.

²⁴ This is the reading of the Epitome (E) of *Ant.*; the codices (as well as the *Chronicon* of Zonaras and the Latin translation) read Ἀχιά/Ἀχιά.

²⁵ The word-order in Josephus' above presentation of "Ahijah" reverses that of the Bible which reads "Ahijah the Silonite the prophet". Josephus has no equivalent to the concluding indication of 11:29a, i.e. that Ahijah met Jeroboam "on the road".

²⁶ According to Knoppers, *Two Nations*, p. 183, n. 29 the absence of this phrase in MT is due to haplography.

²⁷ With this inserted reference, Josephus tones down the abruptness of Ahijah's approach to Jeroboam according to the Bible where the former's very first word to the latter is a command, i.e. "take for yourself ten pieces" (11:31).

²⁸ With the above italicized phrase, appended to his version of the LXX plus, Josephus intimates the reason behind the prophet's initiative as cited in the latter, i.e. a desire for privacy in view of what is to follow. Possibly, Josephus found inspiration for his phrase here in the closing words of 11:29: "and the two of them were *alone* (so MT L, > B) in the open country" (literally "field", so MT B; L "the way"). Whereas in the Bible, however, the pair just happens to find itself "alone", Josephus makes this a matter of a deliberate initiative by Ahijah. See next note.

²⁹ In so doing he likewise leaves aside the intervening reference to Ahijah's and Jeroboam's being "alone" (so MT, L) in the open country/ the way of 11:29bβ. As suggested in the previous note, however, Josephus may have anticipated this item in his elaboration of the

prophet: “Then tearing (σχίσας, BL ἐβέλαβετο... καὶ διέρρηξεν) the cloak (τὸ ἱμάτιον, so BL)³⁰ which covered (περιβεβλημένος, so BL 11:29ba) him into twelve pieces (εἰς δώδεκα φάρσιν, BL δώδεκα ῥήγματα)”.

Ahijah’s lengthy, direct address word to Jeroboam (11:31-39) opens (v. 31a) with a command by the former to which is appended an explanatory statement about the import of his command (v. 31b). Josephus, as he does frequently elsewhere, recasts the opening of Ahijah’s discourse in indirect address, although subsequently he will revert to the source’s direct address (see below).³¹ His version of 11:31 thus reads: “he bade Jeroboam take (λαβεῖν, BL λάβε) ten of them, announcing (προειπών) that such was God’s will (ὁ θεὸς βούλεται)³² and that He had torn apart (σχίσας, LXX ῥήσσω)³³ the kingdom (ἀρχήν, BL βασιλείαν) of Solomon...”. In the source, Ahijah’s announcement of the coming dismemberment of Solomon’s kingdom continues with mention of what is to become of its component elements, i.e. first the ten tribes which Jeroboam will receive (11:31bβ) and then the remaining tribe(s) (see below) which Solomon is to retain (11:32aα), this last disposition being made “for the sake of” David and Jerusalem (11:32aβb). Within this source sequence a noteworthy divergence can be noted between MT and BL 11:32aα; the former has Solomon being

LXX plus attached to the end of MT’s 11:29a. In this connection note that *b. Sanh.* 102a finds in the indications of 11:29b (Ahijah’s “new” cloak; the pair’s being “alone”, so MT) allusions to the scholarly preeminence that Jeroboam shared with Ahijah. Thus, the prophet’s new, flawless cloak symbolizes Jeroboam’s impeccable scholarship according to R. Nahman, while R. Judah, speaking for Rab, affirms that mention of the two’s being “alone in the field” is meant to suggest that, compared to them, all other scholars were so many plants of the field (other, unnamed Rabbinic authorities interpret the notice as intimating that the rationale for the Torah’s prescriptions were as open to the pair as is a field). Like the Bible itself, Josephus makes no such reference to Jeroboam’s status as a sage, on which see further Feldman, “Jeroboam”, p. 31.

³⁰ Josephus leaves aside the source’s double mention of the cloak Ahijah was wearing being a “new” one, perhaps because the relevance of this datum to the prophet’s subsequent action with his cloak is not immediately clear (see the commentaries on the point).

³¹ On Josephus’ penchant for mingling indirect and direct address within one and the same discourse by a character, see Begg, *Josephus’ Account*, p. 123, n. 772.

³² Compare the transitional phrase between command and explanation used in 11:31, i.e. “because thus says the Lord (Κύριος) the God of Israel”. Josephus regularly avoids both the “messenger formula” and the title “Lord” for the Deity found in this source phrase; on the latter point, see Begg, *Josephus’ Account*, p. 45, n. 218 and the literature cited there. Conversely, formulations referring to the “will of God” like the above are very frequent in Josephus, see *ibid.*, p. 20, n. 88 and the literature cited there.

³³ Note how Josephus uses the same form (σχίσας) for the actions of both Ahijah and of the Deity. In so doing he follows the lead of MT which has קרע in both connections (see 11:30-31). By contrast, BL employ different verbs for the prophet’s action (διέρρηξεν, 11:30) and for God’s (ῥήσσω, 11:31). Note too that Josephus’ participial form (σχίσας) for the divine “tearing action” corresponds to the קרע of 11:31 whereas BL read a finite future form.

left one, the latter two tribes.³⁴ Josephus' rendering clearly aligns itself with the BL reading in this instance. At the same time, however, it also reverses the sequence of Ahijah's two announcements,³⁵ while also "correcting" and shortening the wording of the prediction concerning Solomon's portion. In his version Ahijah thus states: "... giving one tribe (φύλιν) and that adjoining it³⁶ to his son (παῖδι)³⁷ because of the promise (ἐμολογίας) He had made to David,³⁸ while to you³⁹ He has given ten (tribes)...".⁴⁰

³⁴ On this divergence, see the commentaries.

³⁵ In having Ahijah speak, as he does, of God's intentions vis-à-vis the Davidic line and its holdings prior to those concerning Jeroboam, Josephus keeps together in a continuous sequence the negative announcement concerning the Davidids of 11:31b₂ and the positive counterpart to this (11:32a₂) which in the Bible itself are disrupted by the intervening statement of 11:31b₃, i.e. "I (God) will give you (Jeroboam) ten tribes".

³⁶ Josephus' wording here represents a geographical precisising of BL's "two tribes (σχετῆς τριβῆς)". Marcus, *Josephus*, V, p. 677, n.d and p. 683, n.d points out that Josephus, unlike both MT and BL, takes care to harmonize the two announcements concerning the future extent of the Davidids' domains he records in 8.197 and 207, respectively. The former text represents Josephus' version of 1 Kgs 11:13 where Solomon is informed (in both MT and BL) that God will give his son (Rehoboam) "one tribe". This wording stands in tension with Ahijah's announcement in 11:32 where MT has *Solomon* himself being the one to get *one* tribe while BL represent him as the recipient of *two* tribes. Josephus' version (8.197) of 11:13 reads "(God) would leave only two [tribes] to David's grandson (Rehoboam)". Thus Josephus' formulations in 8.197 and 207 agree both as to the number of tribes in question (two) and the recipient of these (Rehoboam). By contrast the MT parallel verses (11:13,32) diverge on the second of these points while those of BL do so with respect to both of them.

³⁷ 1 Kgs 11:32a₂ states that "there will be to him (the referent being Solomon, see v. 31) one (MT)/ two (BL) tribes...". Josephus' formulation with its designation of Solomon's "son", i.e. Rehoboam as the one who is to receive the two tribes "corrects" this indication on the consideration that, throughout his lifetime, Solomon himself ruled over all twelve tribes (see 11:34), and it was, in fact, rather Rehoboam who ended up with only two tribes as his domain. The correction in question was one perhaps inspired by the further course of Ahijah's Biblical speech itself, see v. 36 "yet to his (Solomon's) son (BL υἱῷ) I will give one tribe...".

³⁸ Compare 11:32 "for the sake of David". Josephus' precisising of the Biblical reference to "David" here introduces a more explicit reference to the dynastic promise of 2 Samuel 7// 1 Chronicles 17 (// *Ant.* 7.93). The phrase τῇν πρὸς Δαυὶδην... ἐμολογίας of 8.207 recurs in 9.96 (// 2 Kgs 8:19// 2 Chr 21:7) in reference to God's sparing the Davidic dynasty notwithstanding the sins of King Joram of Judah. While thus elaborating on the source's initial motivation for God's leaving something to David's line, Josephus passes over completely the second such motivation cited in 11:32, i.e. "and for the sake of Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel". In so doing Josephus keeps the focus on the divine promise to David (which seems more directly relevant to the question of the Davidids retaining a portion of the people than does the divine choice of Jerusalem). Note, however, that in 8.198, Josephus does take over from 1 Kgs 11:13 God's statement that he will allot Solomon's son one tribe "for the sake of Jerusalem which I have chosen" (Josephus' version of this reads "for the sake of Jerusalem in which He wished to have a temple"). Conceivably then, Josephus leaves aside the reference to Jerusalem of 11:32b so as to avoid a "duplication" of the divine/prophetic announcement reported by him just a few paragraphs earlier in 8.198.

³⁹ Note the shift to direct address here; see n. 31.

⁴⁰ In 3 Rgns 12:24n-o one finds a certain parallel to the sequence of 1 Kgs 11:29-31 in which, however, Jeroboam's prophetic counterpart is, not Ahijah, but rather Shemaiah (see

In 1 Kgs 11:33 Ahijah proceeds to adduce the reasons why Solomon is to be deprived of ten of the tribes, i.e. his turning to worship of three named foreign deities (Ashtoreth, Chemosh and Milcom, so MT) and his failure to observe God's law as had David. Josephus substitutes a shorter accusation against Solomon, one which picks up on the mention of his foreign wives and their nefarious influence upon him from 11:1-8 (*// Ant.* 8.191-194).⁴¹ His Ahijah proceeds as follows: "(God has given Jeroboam the ten tribes) since Solomon has sinned (ἐξῆμαρτόντος) against Him⁴² and gone over wholly (ἐκδεδωκότος) to his wives and their gods (τοῖς ἐκείνων θεοῖς)".⁴³

At this juncture, Josephus opts to pass over an extended portion of Ahijah's Biblical speech, i.e. 11:34-37. Why does he do so? One reason is doubtless the fact that much of this material is repetitive of points already made earlier in Ahijah's discourse itself. Thus, the announcement that the Davidids will continue to rule over one (so MT)/ two (so LXX) tribes in v. 36 reiterates that of v. 32, just as the statement about the Lord's making Jeroboam king over Israel (v. 37) recapitulates v. 31bβ "I will give you ten tribes". As for the affirmation of v. 34, i.e. that the Lord is going to leave Solomon the "entire (so MT B, > L) kingdom" as long as he lives "for the sake of David", Josephus has already presented a version of this in the prophetic word to Solomon which he cites in 8.197 (*//* 11:12): "... in his

1 Kgs 12:22) and the encounter between them takes place at Shechem where Jeroboam has repaired for the meeting between Rehoboam and the Israelites described in 1 Kgs 12:1-20// 2 Chr 10:1-19. The supplement's segment reads: "The word of the Lord came to Shemaiah the Enlomite saying, 'Take a new garment that has never been washed and tear it into twelve pieces. You shall give it to Jeroboam and you shall say to him, "Thus says the Lord, "Take ten pieces for yourself". So Jeroboam took them. Then Shemaiah said, 'Thus says the Lord, "You shall reign over the ten tribes of Israel"'. Josephus gives no evidence of familiarity with this alternative tradition.

⁴¹ For more on this material, see C.T. Begg, "Solomon's Apostasy (1 Kings 11,1-13) according to Josephus", *JSt* 28 (1997) 294-313.

⁴² In 11:33 the initial charge concerns (so BL) Solomon's "abandoning" (καταλείπεν) God ("me"). MT reads a plural verb here, making the people as a whole the ones who have "abandoned" the Deity. In representing Solomon alone as the object of the accusation about "sinning against" God here, Josephus aligns himself with the BL reading.

⁴³ This phrase echoes that of 8.192 where Josephus states that Solomon began to worship "their (i.e. his wives') gods (τοῖς... ἐκείνων... θεοῖς)". His generalizing reference to "gods" here replaces the list of three named deities found in 11:33 (MT and L). His use of this "neutral" term does correspond to the usage of the MT in which each of the deities cited is qualified as the "god" of a given people. By contrast, BL employs pejorative characterizations for the deities it cites (i.e. "abomination," "idol," and "provocation"). In opting to follow the terminological line of MT as opposed to BL here, Josephus is doubtless deferring to the sensibilities of Gentile readers, just as he does elsewhere. On the point, see L.H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Gideon", *REJ* 152 (1993) 5-28, pp. 15-16 and n. 21. Feldman, "Jeroboam", 46-47 cites Josephus' above version of the charge of 11:33 with its explicit mention of the king's "wives and their gods" as expressive of the historian's anti-intermarriage polemic which he introduces at various points in his rewriting of the Biblical account.

lifetime he should not be deprived of his kingdom since the Deity had promised his father David to make him his successor...". In place then of the (duplicate) material of 11:34-37, Josephus proceeds from his version of 11:33 (Solomon's sin) to his rendition (8.208) of 11:38 (Ahijah's conditional promise for Jeroboam and his line). At the same time, he reformulates the promise of the latter verse as a direct exhortation, one which takes as its motivating starting point the immediately preceding reference to Solomon's sin. The prophetic appeal to Jeroboam thus runs like this: "*Now that you know the reason why God has changed and has set His mind* (μετατίθησι... γνώμην)⁴⁴ *against Solomon*, try to be righteous (δικαιοσύνη)⁴⁵ and keep the laws (φύλαττε τὰ νόμιμα),⁴⁶ for there awaits you the greatest of all rewards (προκειμένου... ἄθλου)⁴⁷ *for piety* (εὐσεβείας)⁴⁸ *and the honour shown to God*

⁴⁴ This is Josephus' only use of the above construction with God as subject. Elsewhere he employs the phrase with human subjects (and with the object γνώμη in the plural) in *Ant.* 15.9; *Vita* 165, 195. The reference to God's "change of mind" with regard to Solomon here recalls Josephus' earlier notices on the Deity's "repenting" of his choice of Saul in *Ant.* 6.143 (μετανοεῖν, // 1 Sam 15:10), 145 (μεταμελόμενος). On the other hand, the reference does stand in seeming contrast with the word which Josephus, following 1 Sam 15:29, attributes to Samuel in 6.153, i.e. "... God would abide by what He had decreed concerning him [Saul], as change and the reversal of judgment (μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ στρέφειν τὴν γνώμην) were part of human frailty and not of divine power". See further Schlatter, *Theologie*, p. 147.

⁴⁵ This single term represents a compression of the opening phraseology of 11:38 "if you will hearken (so MT, BL keep) to all that I command you, and will walk in my ways...". Subsequently, Josephus will make clear that Jeroboam ignored Ahijah's call to "righteousness" here; see 8.245 where he speaks of the effect of the false prophet of Bethel's words upon Jeroboam: "... having wholly turned his thoughts away from God and from holy and righteous (δικαίων) deeds, he urged him on to impious acts".

⁴⁶ Compare 11:38 "... (if you) do what is right in my eyes by keeping (BL φυλάττειν) my statutes and my commandments (ἐντολάς... καὶ... προσταγμάτα, so B; L reverses the order of the two terms for law), as David my servant did...". Here again (see previous note), Josephus will later represent Jeroboam as one who proves heedless of Ahijah's exhortation to him, see 8.229 (Jeroboam "caused the people to... transgress the laws [παράβηται τοὺς νόμους]"), 245 (Jeroboam "so greatly transgressed His [God's] laws [παρηγόμηνεν]"); 9.282 (the Israelites imitated Jeroboam's "lawless conduct [παρανομίαν]"). Cf. Feldman, "Jeroboam", 45-46 who points out that Josephus' emphasis on Jeroboam's "lawlessness" serves to associate him with the equally "lawless" Jewish rebels of the historian's own time.

⁴⁷ Elsewhere Josephus employs the above expression "reward awaits" in *Ant.* 8.302 (plural); 16.313; 18.173, cf. 19.131.

⁴⁸ Compare Josephus' subsequent notices on Jeroboam: 8.245 (the false Bethel prophet "urged him on to impious acts (ἀσεβείας)", 279 (the golden heifers and the altars erected by Jeroboam) are "signs of impiety (ἀσεβείας)". See also 8.280 where, in Abijah of Judah's address to Jeroboam and the Israelites, two of the terms employed above in Ahijah's appeal to Jeroboam recur: "... it is only in justice (δικαίῳ) and piety (εὐσεβείῃ) towards God that the surest hope of conquering one's enemies is bound to lie" (subsequently, Abijah goes on to affirm that these two qualities pertain, in fact, to Judah rather than to Jeroboam and his people). Cf. also Feldman, "Jeroboam", 38-41.

(τῆς τὸν θεὸν τιμῆς),⁴⁹ which is to become as great as you know David to have been”.⁵⁰

The Biblical textual witnesses diverge regarding the conclusion of Ahijah’s speech. In MT and L*⁵¹ it ends up with the following words “and I will give Israel to you. And I will for this afflict the descendants of David, but not for ever” (11:38*fine*-39), whereas these words are lacking in B (and part of the L tradition).⁵² Josephus’ conclusion to the prophet’s speech aligns itself with that of B, terminating as it does with the above-cited words about Jeroboam becoming as “great” as David. This observation might suggest that Josephus is here following a text like that of B (and L*) for Ahijah’s speech which lacked the concluding plus of MT (and L*). On the other hand, it should not be excluded that Josephus did (also) have a text containing the MT plus before him, but deliberately opted not to use this. Such a scenario remains a possibility in that, first of all, the concluding words of MT 11:38 are a repetition of the announcement of Jeroboam’s coming kingship in 11:32bβ (and 11:37). Similarly, Josephus might well have chosen not to reproduce a source statement concerning the eventual end of God’s “afflicting” of the Davidids (so MT 11:39), given both his own appurtenance to the rival royal house of the Hasmoneans (see *Vita* 2) and his awareness of Roman sensitivities regarding Jewish messianism.⁵³

Concluding Framework Narrative

The Bible, in striking contrast to the expansive speech it attributes to Ahijah, rounds off its account of the prophet-Jeroboam encounter quite summarily with a single verse, 11:40. According to the indications of this verse, Solomon sought to kill Jeroboam who fled for safety to Egypt where

⁴⁹ Here too (see previous note), Josephus’ wording serves to set up a terminological contrast between Ahijah’s program for Jeroboam’s reign and the latter’s actual, opposite conduct; see 8.270 where God, speaking to Jeroboam’s wife through Ahijah, affirms of the king “you have given up worshipping me, to make gods of molten metal, and have *honoured* (ἐτίμας) them...”.

⁵⁰ Compare the wording of the (conditional) divine promise in 11:38b “...I will be with you, and will build you a sure house, as I built for David...”.

⁵¹ In fact, only certain MSS of the L group have an equivalent to MT 11:39; the verse is absent in the MSS denominated by Fernández and Busto as 82 and 93, while in MS 127 it is obelisked.

⁵² On the question of the original reading here, see the commentaries, McKenzie, *Trouble*, p. 42 and Knoppers, *Two Nations*, p. 191 (both of these authors opt for B’s shorter reading as the original one).

⁵³ On these points, see L.H. Feldman, “Josephus’ Portrait of David”, *HUCA* 60 (1989) 129-174, pp. 172-174.

he remained until the death of Solomon. This sequence links up rather abruptly with what precedes in that one might expect to find an intervening statement on Jeroboam's response to Ahijah's word to him — in 11:26-40 nothing is said either of Jeroboam's carrying out Ahijah's directive to take the ten pieces (v. 31a) or of his reaction to the latter's announcements — which, in turn, would account for Solomon's initiative against him. Josephus, who earlier significantly compressed the content of Ahijah's speech, markedly expands the source's minimalistic concluding narrative with a view to filling the above-mentioned lacuna. In particular, he precedes his equivalent to 11:40a (Solomon's attempt to kill Jeroboam) with a lengthy *Vorbau* (8.209-210aα) which itself picks up on previous elements of his own (and/or the Bible's) introductory presentation of Jeroboam. This *Sondergut* passage reads:

Elated, therefore, (ἐπαρθείς) by the prophet's words (τοῖς τοῦ προφήτου [see 8.206] λόγοις),⁵⁴ Jeroboam who was a youth (νεανίας, cf. τὸ παιδάριον BL 11:28) of ardent nature (φύσει θερμός, compare γενναῖον καὶ τολμηρὸν... τὸ φρόνημα, 8.205)⁵⁵ and ambitious of great things (μεγάλων ἐπιθυμητῆς πραγμάτων),⁵⁶ did not remain idle. And when he entered upon his command (στρατηγίᾳ)⁵⁷ and called to mind what had been revealed (τῶν... δεδηλωμένων) by Achias,⁵⁸ he at once attempted to persuade the people to turn away (ἀναπειθεῖν... τὸν λαὸν ἀφίστασθαι)⁵⁹ from Solomon and to start a revolt (κινεῖν) and transfer the supreme power (παράγειν⁶⁰... τῇν

⁵⁴ The above construction "elated by words" recurs in *Ant.* 15.27. The reference here in 8.209 to the "words of the prophet" as that which prompted Jeroboam to revolt (see the continuation of the passage above) picks up on Josephus' (inserted) editorial comment in 8.205, cf. 1 Kgs 11:27 "(Solomon was revolted against by Jeroboam) 'who had faith in his chances of success because of a *prophecy* (κατὰ προφητείαν) that had been made to him long before'".

⁵⁵ On Josephus' negatively-charged use of the term θερμός in reference, e.g., to the Jewish rebels, see Feldman, "Jeroboam", 37-38.

⁵⁶ Also this phrase (see previous note) serves to associate Jeroboam with the Jewish rebels so denigrated by Josephus. Feldman, "Jeroboam", 45 calls attention in particular to the similarity between the above phrase and that used by Josephus of his own arch-rival at the time of the revolt, John of Gischala, i.e. αὐτὸς... ἐπιθυμήσας μεγάλων (*BJ* 2.587).

⁵⁷ The above phrase harks back to 8.206 (// 11:28) "(Solomon) gave him (Jeroboam) the command (στρατηγίαν) over the tribe of Joseph".

⁵⁸ With the above phrase Josephus reiterates, using equivalent wording, his earlier notices (8.205, 209a) about it's being Ahijah's "prophecy" which influenced Jeroboam to act as he did in revolting against Solomon.

⁵⁹ The above phrase has a close parallel in *Ant.* 7.24 (Abner asks David to swear that he will become his friend) "once he had persuaded the people to revolt from Saul's son [Ish-bosheth] (ἀναπεισαντα τὸν λαόν... ἀποστῆναι)" and 256 (Joab threatens David grieving over the death of Absalom) "I will persuade the people to revolt (ἀναπεισας ἀποστῆναι... τὸν λαόν) from you". Cf. also 8.221 (// 1 Kgs 12:19// 2 Chr 10:19) "... the rest of the populace revolted (ἀποστάν)... from the sons of David..."

⁶⁰ This is the emendation of Niese (see n. 3) which Marcus follows for the various readings of the witnesses. See Marcus, *Josephus*, V, p. 682, n. 6.

ῥήγεμονίαν).⁶¹ But when Solomon learned of his intention (διάνοιαν) and his plot (ἐπιβουλήν)....⁶²

Following the above “insertion”, Josephus, finally, presents his version of 11:40a on Solomon’s initiative: “... (Solomon) sought (ἐζήτει, BL ζητήσεν) *to arrest* (σὺλλαβῶν) *and execute* (ἀνελεῖν, BL θανατῶσαι) him”. In thereafter recounting (// 11:40b) Jeroboam’s resultant “flight to Egypt”, Josephus once again elaborates: “Jeroboam, however, *hearing of this in time*,⁶³ fled (φεύγει⁶⁴, BL ἀπέδρα) to Isakos (Ἰσακον, BL Συσσασείμ),⁶⁵ the king of Egypt, and remained there with him until the death of Solomon, *thereby gaining the two-fold advantage of escaping harm from Solomon and being preserved for the kingship*”.⁶⁶

⁶¹ The above phrase “transfer the supreme power” occurs only here in Josephus. According to both Marcus, *Josephus*, V, p. 684, n. a and Feldman, “Jeroboam”, 45, n. 22, Josephus would be dependent, in the above passage about Jeroboam’s revolt which has no counterpart in the concluding narrative of 1 Kgs 11:40, on the final words of the LXX supplement’s 12:24b, i.e. “he exalted himself to the kingship (βασιλείαν)” where, as in 8.209-210, they immediately precede mention (see 12:24c) of Solomon’s attempt to kill Jeroboam and the latter’s flight to Egypt (// 11:40). It is, however, not so clear that this is necessarily the case. Alternatively, it seems equally possible that, in his presentation in 8.209, Josephus is simply “spinning out” the reference(s) of 1 Kgs 11:26-27 to Jeroboam’s “raising his hand against” Solomon previously utilized by him in 8.205, doing this with a view to filling the apparent lacuna between 11:31-39 and 40, see above.

⁶² This is the reading of the codices followed by Marcus. Niese (as also S. Naber) conjectures ἐπιβουλήν. The above nominal collocation occurs only here in Josephus. By means of the phrase, Josephus establishes a transition between his previous mention of Jeroboam’s revolt and his following notice (// 11:40a) on Solomon’s effort to kill Jeroboam, one which, in contrast to the Bible itself, provides an explicit motivation for the king’s initiative

⁶³ With this inserted phrase Josephus provides an explicit indication as to how it was that Jeroboam was able to elude Solomon’s murderous endeavor. In 3 Rgns 12:24c one likewise meets an amplification of the notice of 11:40a on Jeroboam’s flight, i.e. a mention of his being “afraid” (καὶ ἐφοβήθη) in the face of Solomon’s effort to kill him. Given Josephus’ penchant for introducing references to the psychological states of Biblical characters, one might have expected him to make use of this item of the LXX supplement had he known it. The fact then that the item remains without equivalent in Josephus’ presentation seems to constitute yet another indication that he did not have the supplement before him in his Biblical text(s).

⁶⁴ Note the historic present; see n. 8.

⁶⁵ Subsequently, Josephus will mention the name of this king under several different forms, see Marcus, *Josephus*, V, p. 684, n. b.

⁶⁶ With the above expansion of the conclusion of 11:40b, Josephus intimates that Ahijah’s announcement about Jeroboam’s future will indeed find fulfillment, Solomon’s intervention notwithstanding, just as he prepares readers for the episode of Jeroboam’s election to kingship in 8.212-224 (// 1 Kings 12// 2 Chr 10:1-11:4), following the “interlude” of 8.211 (// 1 Kgs 11:41-43// 2 Chr 9:29-31), with its closing notices for the reign of Solomon. Worthy of note here is that Josephus has no equivalent to the details supplied in 3 Rgns 12:24d-f concerning Jeroboam’s doings subsequent to his hearing, in Egypt, of the death of Solomon, i.e. his request that Pharaoh allow him to return home, the latter’s giving him his sister-in-law Thekemeinas as wife who bears him his son Abijah, Jeroboam’s renewed request to depart

Conclusion

By way of conclusion I wish now to briefly return to the questions posed in the introduction to this study in order to synthesize my findings regarding them. First of all, on the question of Josephus' Biblical text(s) in *Ant.* 8.205-210, we noted various indications of his utilization of a BL-like text as opposed to the "MT" of 1 Kgs 11:26-40. The evidence here is both positive and negative. Positively, we pointed out that in 8.206 Josephus elaborates on the plus at the end of BL 11:29a ("he [Ahijah] caused him [Jeroboam] to turn from the way"), just as he has the prophet announce (8.207) that the Davidids will retain two (so BL 11:32) rather than one tribe (so MT).⁶⁷ Negatively, Josephus (8.205), like BL 11:26, does not mention the name of Jeroboam's mother and, in common with B (and some MSS of L), has no equivalent to the MT (and L*) plus 11:38*fine*-39 (recall, however, that this last feature does not necessarily exclude Josephus' knowledge of this plus, see above on 8.208). Conversely, definite indicators of Josephus' utilization of a MT-like text seem to be lacking.

A related question has to do with Josephus' familiarity with/use of the BL supplement, 3 Rgns 12:24a-z and its alternative traditions concerning Jeroboam. In the course of the above study we came upon two instances which might seem to suggest that Josephus did know this BL *Sondergut*, i.e. his explicit mention of Jeroboam's involvement in Solomon's building projects in Jerusalem (8.205b// 12:24b, compare 11:27b) and his juxtaposition of a reference to Jeroboam's revolt with his notices on Solomon's attempt to kill him and Jeroboam's own flight (8.210// 12:24b*fine*-c; compare 11:26-40 which moves directly from Ahijah's discourse to mention of Solomon's initiative [11:40] with no allusion to Jeroboam's revolt supervening). In both of these cases, however, we have suggested that they do not necessarily

and Pharoah's granting of this, Jeroboam's arrival in Sareira in Ephraim (see 12:24b) where the Ephraimites assemble and where Jeroboam constructs a fortification. Given, e.g., his emphasis on and pride in his own and his people's acceptance by high-placed foreigners (see, e.g., *Ant.* 2. 252-253 where Josephus recounts the "un-Biblical" story of Moses' marrying the Ethiopian princess, "Tharbis"), one would have expected Josephus to reproduce the datum of 12:24c about Jeroboam's marriage into the Egyptian royal family had he, in fact, known it. In this connection, note too that in Josephus' version of 1 Kings 14 in 8.265-273 Jeroboam's wife (and mother of the sick prince Abijah) remains nameless, as in MT (the episode is not related at this point in BL which give a shorter version of it in 12:24g-n) and without any indication as to her ethnic origins- another indication of the historian's lack of familiarity with the account of 12:24c.

⁶⁷ Recall too that, in formulating Ahijah's accusation in 8.207, Josephus has the prophet refer to Solomon's "sinning against Him (God)" in line with the singular verb of BL 11:33 ("he abandoned me"), whereas MT reads the plural here, "they (the people) abandoned me".

involve Josephus' dependence on the BL supplement since alternative explanations of the items' presence in his own account are forthcoming. Moreover, it must likewise be kept in mind that Josephus gives no evidence of knowing many other elements peculiar to the supplement, some of which, at least, he might have been expected to reproduce (e.g., Jeroboam's marriage to the Egyptian princess, Jeroboam's "fear" in the face of Solomon's move against him) had he in fact known it. In this connection too it should be recalled that Josephus, like MT, has nothing equivalent to the supplement at the actual point where this occurs in BL, i.e. after 1 Kgs 12:24 (see *Ant.* 8.223-224). Accordingly, I am inclined to the view that Josephus did not, after all, have the material of the supplement before him in any of the texts of 1 Kings used by him.

Brief as it is, the segment *Ant.* 8.205-210 does provide illustrations of a range of the Josephan rewriting techniques applied by him to his source material which my final opening question asked about. Under this heading we noted, first of all, that Josephus omits certain minor source details, e.g., the name of Jeroboam's hometown (11:26, compare 8.205), and the (double) specification that Ahijah's cloak was "new" (11:29-30, compare 8.207). In the same line he compresses elements of the source which involve repetitions either within the pericope itself (e.g., the two-fold mention of Ahijah's "wearing" of his cloak, 11:29-30; the announcements of 11:35b-37 which recapitulate those of 11:31-32) or of notices found earlier in his own presentation (as also in the Bible itself), see 11:32,34-35a which reiterates various matters (the kingdom not to be dismembered during Solomon's own lifetime, this delay being "for the sake of Jerusalem") of which Solomon has already been informed in 1 Kgs 11:12-13// 8.197b-198.

Conversely, however, Josephus also elaborates on the data of the source story. This feature of his rewriting is most conspicuous in 8.209-210a₂ where he inserts a long segment concerning Jeroboam's response to Abijah's prophecy with a view to motivating Solomon's move against the former as cited in 11:40a. Other smaller additions within Josephus' version of 11:26-40 include e.g., his reference to Jeroboam's good performance as overseer of Solomon's building projects and the king's noting and rewarding of this (8.206), Ahijah's opening "greeting" of Jeroboam (8.206), the prophet's allusion to Jeroboam's now "knowing" why God has changed his mind regarding Solomon as a reason why Jeroboam should himself "try to be righteous" (8.208), Solomon's "learning" of Jeroboam's plot (8.210, compare 11:40a), the latter's "hearing in time" of Solomon's move against him (8.210, compare 11:40b), and finally the notice on the "two-fold advantage" which Jeroboam gained by his flight to Egypt with which 8.210 concludes.

Likewise worthy of note within 8.205-210 is Josephus' penchant for re-arranging the sequence of source items. Thus, e.g., he inserts (see 8.205) his equivalent to the notice of 11:27 on the motivation for Jeroboam's revolt within his rendition of the *personalia* concerning Jeroboam of 11:26. Similarly, he connects the source's mention of Solomon's perceiving Jeroboam's ability, not with the king's appointing him head over Joseph (so 11:28), but rather with an earlier development, namely Jeroboam's being made supervisor of the royal building works in Jerusalem (8.205, see further below). Again, Josephus reverses the order of Ahijah's announcements as found in 11:31-32, having the prophet speak first of God's intentions with respect to the Davidids and only then regarding Jeroboam himself (8.207).

A final rewriting technique identifiable in our pericope are the various sorts of "modifications" of his *Vorlage* introduced by Josephus. Some of these modifications are stylistic in character, e.g., substitution of hypotaxis for Biblical parataxis, the (partial) recasting of Ahijah's discourse in indirect discourse (8.207b-208a, compare 11:31-39 which employs direct address throughout) and of the conditional promise of 11:37 as an actual exhortation (see 8.208), plus the two-fold use of the historic present (see 8.205, 210) where BL have past forms. Another category of Josephan modifications involves his rewording of source formulations. Here, e.g. he avoids the title "Lord" for the Deity (see 8.207 and compare 11:31), qualifies Jeroboam as Solomon's "fellow-tribesman" rather than more specifically as a "Ephraimite" (8.205, compare 11:26), "generalizes" the Scriptural list of three specific foreign deities (so 11:33) into mention of "their (i.e. those of Solomon's wives') gods" (8.207), while, conversely, introducing specific reference to God's "promise" to David (8.207, compare 11:32 "for the sake of David"). In the same line he several times replaces Biblical phraseology with terminology having a counterpart — whether positive or negative — elsewhere in his own presentation (see, e.g., 8.208 where Josephus (re-)words Ahijah's promise to Jeroboam in such a way as to incorporate into his version a whole series of positive terms whose negative equivalents surface in his subsequent presentation of Jeroboam).⁶⁸ Still other of Josephus' "modifications" can be qualified as contentual. Such contentual modifications, in turn, subserve a variety of Josephan purposes: clarification of points left indeterminate in the source (e.g., what role, if any, did Jeroboam have in the royal building projects in Jerusalem?, see 8.205b, compare

⁶⁸ See nn. 45-46, 48-49. See also 8.205 where Josephus substitutes for the terms used to characterize Jeroboam in 11:28 a phrase that serves to connect him with the reprobate Nimrud as presented by him in *Ant.* 1.113, cf. n. 14, as well as his application to Jeroboam of terms employed in *BJ* in denigration of his arch-foes, the Zealots; see nn. 9, 46, 55-56.

11:27b) and accentuation of his recurrent anti-intermarriage polemic (see 8.207 where the charge about Solomon's "going over wholly to his foreign wives" replaces 11:33b's reference to the king's failure to walk in the Lord's ways and keep his statutes).

Summing up, finally, on the overall impact of the above rewriting procedures on Josephus' account of the Jeroboam-Ahijah encounter, I suggest that these function to generate a version of the episode which represents on the one hand, a "streamlined" rendition of the source story, but on the other also one which is concerned to elucidate certain features of the source's presentation and fill in its narrative gaps, while likewise bringing into play a variety of verbal/content "echoes" of the wider context of the *Ant.* (and of the entire Josephan corpus). In these regards, *Ant.* 8.205-210 stands as a typical example of Josephus' retelling of Biblical happenings. At the same time, the passage studied, like *Ant.* in general, attests both to Josephus' "close reading" of his Biblical text(s) and of the freedom which he allowed himself in reproducing this for a new time and a new (Gentile/Jewish) audience.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ On this point, see further Begg, *Josephus' Account*, pp. 284-286.

JULIAN AND THE REBUILDING OF THE JERUSALEM TEMPLE

BY

LENA CANSDALE

In this article I would like to discuss four questions arising from the reports that the Emperor Julian ordered the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem in 362 or early 363. My questions are:

- 1) Was the rebuilding of the Temple actually started as directed by Julian?
- 2) If the rebuilding was started, what then stopped it?
- 3) Why was the rebuilding not mentioned in contemporary Jewish sources?
- 4) What were Julian's reasons for ordering the rebuilding of the Temple?

The documents most relevant to these questions are the letters of Julian, primarily the one written to the "Community of the Jews",¹ in late 362 or early 363 from Antioch. In this letter Julian promised the Jewish community that he would annul all unauthorised taxes levied on Jews and destroy all records showing debts incurred through these taxes. He went on to ask the Jews to offer prayers on his behalf and urged them:

"This you ought to do, in order that, when I have successfully concluded the war with Persia, I may rebuild by my own efforts the sacred city of Jerusalem, which for so many years you have longed to see inhabited..."

In another letter addressed to a pagan priest, Julian stated that he intended to restore the Temple of the Jews — "in honour of the god whose name has been associated with it".² In yet a third letter to the Jews, known only from a quotation by Lydus (writing in the sixth century), Julian is said to have written: "For I am rebuilding with all zeal the temple of the Most High God".³ In the first two letters Julian wrote of his intention to rebuild both Jerusalem and the Temple at some time in the future, whereas in the third letter, quoted by Lydus, the rebuilding had already started.

Julian's friend, fellow pagan and biographer, Ammianus, had more to say on the subject. According to him, Julian being

¹ Julian Flavius Claudius, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, W. C. Wright trans., London 1962, Vol. 3 ep. 51.

² Julian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, "Fragment of a letter to a Priest", p. 313.

³ Julian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, "Fragment 11".

“eager to extend the memory of his reign by great works, he planned at vast cost to restore the once splendid Temple at Jerusalem, which after many mortal combats during the siege by Vespasian and later by Titus had barely been stormed”.

Furthermore, according to Ammianus Julian had already gone beyond the planning stage before his departure to the Persian wars, for

“he had entrusted the speedy performance of his work to Alypius of Antioch, who had once been Vice-Prefect of Britain”.⁴

In fact, we have good evidence that by the time Julian set out for Persia in the spring of 363, the work of rebuilding the Temple was in progress. Most Christian sources are quite definite that the rebuilding of the Temple had started in 362 or 363 as Julian had directed. Ephraim the Syrian (c.306-373) wrote at Nisibis that on hearing of the rebuilding of the Temple “the Jews were seized with frenzied enthusiasm; they blew the shofar and rejoiced”.⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, a fellow-student of Julian in Athens and later Bishop of Constantinople, writing a short time after Julian’s death, asserted that the building of the Temple had commenced and that

“They [the Jews] began to debate about rebuilding the Temple, and in large numbers and with great zeal set about the work”.

Gregory added further details:

“not only did their women strip off all their personal ornaments and contribute it towards the work and operations, but they even carried away the rubbish in the laps of their gowns, sparing neither the so precious clothes nor yet the tenderness of their own limbs...”⁶

This story was elaborated on by Sozomen (writing c.443) who added that the women not only carried loads of earth but also

“brought their necklaces and other female ornaments towards defraying the expense”.⁷

Other church historians such as Rufinus (c.400),⁸ Chrysostom (c.400),⁹ Socrates (c.438/9)¹⁰ and Theodoret (c.445/9)¹¹ all wrote about the start of

⁴ Ammianus Marcellianus, *History*, J. C. Rolfe trans. London, 1971, Vol. 3, Book 23:1:2.

⁵ Ephraem, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, A. Rücker trans., 20 (1919), Vol. 1, p. 218. Quoted in M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine*, Oxford 1962, pp. 193-194.

⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, “Second Invective against Julian” in *Julian the Emperor*, C. W. King trans., London 1888, pp. 88-89.

⁷ Sozomen, Salaminus Hermias, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Schaff and Wace trans. and edit. in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Michigan 1973, Vol. 2.

⁸ Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3.

⁹ Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos*, Book 5:11.

¹⁰ Socrates, Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2.

¹¹ Theodoret, Bishop, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3.

the rebuilding of the Temple and the miraculous happenings — of which more later — which stopped the project. Of course they may all have been influenced by the detailed account by Gregory but, as the pagan Ammianus made the same report, except for the supernatural events, the evidence of these Church fathers may be given some credence.

One report by Theodoret, that silver tools were used in constructing the Temple, appears to be corroborative evidence. It was necessary under Jewish law to use other than iron tools for building the Temple, as the Bible (Deut. 27:5 and 1 Kings 6:7) expressly forbade the use of iron in the construction of the altar and other parts of the Temple. This law is further discussed in the Mishnah (Midd 3:4) which describes the building of the Temple with the words:

“The stones of the ramp and the stones of the altar...were quarried from virgin soil and brought from thence as whole stones upon which no [tool of] iron had been lifted up. For iron renders [the stones] invalid [for the altar] even by a touch.... Rabbi said...they did not plaster them with an iron trowel lest it should touch [the stones] and render them invalid; for iron was created to shorten man’s days...”¹²

This might be the reason why Theodoret, being acquainted with the non-use of iron tools by the builders, wrote that silver tools were used. Josephus (*Ant.*, 15:11:1-3) when describing the building of the Herodian Temple and neighbouring buildings, while failing to remark on the absence of iron tools wrote that “the Temple itself was built by the priests” (*Ant.*, 15:11:6). The priests must have known the law and would have avoided using iron tools.

It should be pointed out that Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem during Julian’s reign, in his extant work which ceases in the year of Julian’s death (363), makes no mention of the order to rebuild the Temple or of the subsequent disasters.¹³ However, to strengthen the case that Cyril, who was present in Jerusalem when the rebuilding of the Temple was started, did know about the rebuilding work and its termination, S. P. Brock quotes a letter attributed to Cyril, which is only extant in a 19th century copy of a Syriac manuscript.¹⁴ In this letter, among other details, Cyril mentioned the exact day and date of the earthquake which caused the demolition of the work done so far on the Temple. Although Brock is of the opinion that the letter may

¹² *The Mishnah*, Herbert Danby trans., Oxford 1991, p. 594.

¹³ Michael Adler, “The Emperor Julian and the Jews”, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, (1893), p. 649.

¹⁴ Sebastian P. Brock, “The Rebuilding of the Temple under Julian: a New Source”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 108 (1979), p. 104.

not have been written by Cyril, he thinks it dates from near the time of the events described, an opinion supported by F. Blanchetière.¹⁵ The tradition that Cyril knew about the events in Jerusalem is an early one, as both Rufinus and Socrates quote Cyril as having forecast the destruction of the Temple.¹⁶

We come now to three archaeological finds which could confirm that the building of the Temple was actually commenced.

The first is a Hebrew inscription found by Benjamin Mazar when excavating near the Temple Mount in 1969-70.¹⁷ This inscription was carved on one of the ashlar of the 25th course of the Western Wall beneath the Robinson Arch and from the style of the letters can be dated to the fourth century CE. It is an inexact quotation from Isaiah (66:14) as one word (flourish) "תצמחנה" is left out at the end of the inscription and another word appears as "ועצמותם" (their bones) instead of "ועצמותיכם" (your bones). The inscription reads "וראיתם וש לבכם ועצמותם כדשא" which translates: "And when you see this, your heart shall rejoice and their bones [flourish] like new grass". A modern translation of Isaiah verse 14 reads: "This you shall see and be glad at heart, your limbs shall be as fresh as grass in spring". Verse 13 ends with the words "and you shall find comfort in Jerusalem".¹⁸ Mazar suggested that the verse may have been inscribed to show the joyful emotions of the writer who came to Jerusalem to help in the restoration of the Temple. It is unlikely that such an inscription would have been made before this time because after the Bar Kokhba Revolt in 134/5 the Emperor Hadrian decreed that no Jew was allowed to visit Jerusalem, a decree again strictly enforced in the days of Constantine and not officially rescinded till Julian's time.¹⁹

Another archaeological discovery was made in the late 1960s at Ma'ayan Barukh, a Kibbutz situated in the upper Jordan Valley, about eight kilometres from Caesarea Philippi, the modern Paneas.²⁰ This was a Latin inscription on a limestone column, of which most of the upper part has

¹⁵ F. Blanchetière "Julien philhellène, philosémite, antichrétien: L'affaire du Temple de Jérusalem (363)", *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 31 (1980), p. 65.

¹⁶ Brock, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁷ B. Mazar, *The Excavation in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons 1969-1970*, Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem 1971, p. 23. See also Yohanan Lewy, "Julian the Apostate and the Building of the Temple", *Jerusalem Cathedra*, 3 (1983), p. 71.

¹⁸ *The New English Bible*, Oxford 1970, p. 903.

¹⁹ Avi-Yonah, *Jews of Palestine*, Oxford 1981, p. 195.

²⁰ A. Negev, "The Inscription of the Emperor Julian at Ma'ayan Barukh", *Israel Exploration Journal*, 19 (1969), 170-173. Discussed also by G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, London 1978, Appendix 2, pp. 123-124.

survived and starts with the words: *Romani orbis liberatori*, and continues in the second line with *Templorum restauratori*. As Julian is addressed by name later in the inscription there can be little doubt that it is he who is being lauded as restorer of temples. The crucial question is whether among the temples restored or about to be restored by Julian the Jerusalem Temple was included together with other temples such as the Roman temple at Caesarea Philippi.

The third possible piece of evidence is a gem portrait of Julian which was said to have been found in the Jerusalem area in the late 1930s.²¹

These are the archaeological sources which may or may not refer to the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple and, although they are circumstantial evidence only, they add to the likelihood that the rebuilding of the Temple was in fact started.

Putting together all the literary and archaeological evidence discussed above, it seems likely that an affirmative answer can be given to the question as to whether the work on the restoration of the Temple was actually begun.

The next question concerns the events which were said to have occurred to stop the Temple rebuilding operations. Let us start with Ammianus' report:

"But though this Alypius pushed the work on with vigour, aided by the governor of the province, terrifying balls of flame kept bursting forth near the foundations of the temple, and made the place inaccessible to the workmen, some of whom were burned to death; and since in this way the element (*elemento*) persistently repelled them, the enterprise halted."²²

It is clear that Ammianus wrote that these events occurred during Julian's lifetime because immediately after the paragraphs on the Temple he discussed the envoys who were sent to Julian from Rome at that time. It is likely that Ammianus knew of the natural causes which stopped the rebuilding of the Temple, but when he came to write the report in Rome some fifteen years later in 379 he made use of contemporary reports by other writers and may have picked up from their descriptions of the fires which had occurred the phrase "balls of fire" (*globi flammaram*). However, he left out the most important point, that the fire was preceded by an earthquake, a fact we learn only from Christian sources.

Now let us look at these Christian sources. It was in the interest of Christian writers to show heavenly intervention to stop the work of the

²¹ Rudolf Jonas, "Titus (Flavius Vespasian) and (Flavius Claudius) Julian: Two Gem Portraits from the Jerusalem Area", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1971, pp. 8-12.

²² Ammianus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, Book 23:1:3.

rebuilding of a Jewish Temple. The destruction of the Second Temple had been forecast by Jesus who said that “not one stone will be left upon another” (Matthew 24:2, Mark 13:2 and Luke 21:6) as a sign that from that time on the Christians and not the Jews would be the chosen people. The Church Fathers would have been bitterly opposed to the restoration of the Jewish Temple and were certain that the failure to accomplish such a restoration was by divine intervention. But if we look at the various reports and discount the purely supernatural occurrences, we find a very accurate description of an earthquake and its aftermath.

Gregory of Nazianzus, writing within a year of Julian’s death, has given us most of the factual details relating to reasons why the rebuilding of the Temple did not proceed: he described a sudden tornado, accompanied by an earthquake and followed by flames issuing out from the temple, all spreading confusion and bringing the work to a halt. Ephraim the Syrian used these details in his hymn against Julian:

“He [God] ordered the winds and they blew, he beckoned earthquakes and they came,/ lightning and it caused turmoil, the air and it became dark,/ walls and they were overthrown, gates and they opened themselves;/ fire came forth and consumed the scribes...”²³

Other ecclesiastical writers reported a spate of supernatural phenomena: the sign of the cross appeared in the sky and crosses marked the garments of the people who thereupon pleaded to be baptised. These reports were repeated and new details, most of them miraculous, were incorporated in subsequent descriptions. Rufinus described balls of fire bursting from the earth; Socrates related that the fire came from heaven and Theodoret that the earth which was removed by day replaced itself by night. It is Rufinus’ detailed description of the fire, which according to him started in a subterranean building between two porticoes,²⁴ which lends substance to the reports and explains them. There is only one such place, situated in the south-eastern corner of the Temple Mount, which has subterranean vaults, known to-day as “Solomon’s Stables”. An earthquake may well have caused an explosion of gases, accumulated in these closed underground rooms. Such a fire could quickly have spread to the combustible building materials stored on the site. A further result of an earthquake and fire could have been a cave-in of the subterranean vaults resulting in injuries or even deaths among the workers.

²³ “Hymns against Julian”, 20, in Samuel N. C. Lieu (ed.), *The Emperor Julian Panegyric and Polemic*, Judith M. Lieu trans., Liverpool 1989, p.126.

²⁴ “.....aedes.....aditum inter duas porticus” quoted by Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

When we look for supporting evidence of earthquakes we find that there are many ancient reports of major tremors around this time right along the Jordan rift from the Gulf of Eilat in the south to the Bekaa region in the north including adjacent areas. According to Amos Nur, Chairman of the Department of Geophysics at Stanford University California, the year 362 saw widespread earthquake damage in the Middle East. As well as damage to the Temple area in Jerusalem, earthquakes caused the destruction of Areopolis (the biblical Rabbat Moab, today Khirbe-en-Robbe) and Kir-Moab (El Kerak) as well as causing a tsunami in the Dead Sea.²⁵ D. H. Kallner-Amiran of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, in his list of earthquakes in Palestine, includes for the year 362, as well as destruction in the Temple area, damage in Nablus, Beit Jibrin and Gaza.²⁶

With this corroborative evidence the answer to my second question must be that in all probability an earthquake and not supernatural occurrences interrupted the rebuilding of the Temple. What is doubtful is whether the work was actually abandoned at that time or whether the damage was repaired and the rebuilding continued. In any case the project ceased on the death of the pagan Julian and the re-establishment of Christian Emperors and their revival of anti-Jewish policies. Christian sources were unanimous that the hand of God was instrumental in the abandonment of the project.

Next we look at the question why the rebuilding of the Temple and its discontinuance were not mentioned in any Jewish sources although there were many references in contemporary Christian literature. It is always precarious to use an *argumentum e silentio* but here are some suggestions which may explain this silence.

After the destruction of the Second Temple in CE 70 the leadership of the Jews was for nearly three hundred years in the hands of the scribes or Rabbis. These personages were headed by a Jewish Patriarch or Nasi, the head of Palestinian Jewry, supported by the members of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish legislative council and religious court. This Patriarch was recognised by the Roman Government as the religious leader of the Jews in Palestine and the Diaspora until the office was abolished under the Emperor Theodosius in c.425.²⁷ Had the Temple in Jerusalem been rebuilt by Julian then the religious leadership together with the power and prestige would have reverted from the Patriarch to the High Priest and priests, who alone were

²⁵ Amos Nur, "And the Walls Came Tumbling Down", *New Scientist*, (6 July 1991), p. 41.

²⁶ D. H. Kallner-Amiran, "A revised earthquake-catalogue of Palestine", *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1(1950-51), p. 225.

²⁷ Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age, 70-640 CE*, G. Levi trans. and edit., Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1989, pp. 8-10.

empowered to officiate in the Temple. This the priests had done in the past for over six hundred years, from the return from Babylon to the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. Such a reversion would have been a fundamental change of direction, and the Rabbis were rightly concerned that the hard-won unity of the Jewish nation both in Palestine and the Diaspora would pass into the hands of priestly families who had neither the experience in governing a religious community nor the learning that had been accumulated by the rabbinic leaders.²⁸

Not only would the rabbinic leadership have lost its place of importance within the Jewish nation following the establishment of a new Temple, it would also have incurred a huge financial loss. Every Jew, both in Palestine and particularly in the Diaspora, made a yearly contribution for the upkeep of the Sanhedrin, and this contribution, “the Half Shekel”, mentioned much earlier in the Bible (Ex 30:13), would have reverted to the Temple for the provision of sacrifices and the maintenance of priests. Indeed, in his letter to the Jewish community Julian specifically mentioned the contributions to the Patriarch saying:

“And since I wish that you should prosper yet more, I have admonished my brother Iulus [Patriarch Hillel II], your most venerable patriarch, that the levy (ἀποστολήν) which is said to exist among you should be prohibited...”²⁹

It seems that as Julian was providing funds for the rebuilding of the Temple he considered that no further donations to the patriarch should be made so that his Jewish subjects would be relieved of this burden and could “prosper yet more”.

It is little wonder that, in spite of any enthusiasm for a rebuilt Temple that the common Jewish people may have felt, as related in the Christian sources referred to above, the Patriarch and Rabbis did not react favourably to Julian’s plans and kept silent about them.

Another reason for silence by Jewish contemporary sources on the re-erection of the Temple is religious. According to Jewish tradition only the coming of the Messiah (Redeemer) would herald the restoration of the Temple,³⁰ and no gentile, not even a Roman Emperor, however seemingly well disposed towards the Jews, could ever usurp this role.

The main Jewish sources for the period under discussion are the Bavli and Jerushalami Talmuds. It is understandable that the Talmud Bavli is silent on Julian’s offer to rebuild the Temple as the Persian Jews were not in

²⁸ Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

²⁹ Julian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, ep 51.

³⁰ Adler, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

any way prepared to praise a Roman Emperor who had taken arms against their own ruler, the Persian King Shapur. In the Jerushalami Talmud the silence as to these politically and religiously sensitive events may also have arisen through the prudence of the scribes. There was only a brief space of time between Julian's conferral of favours on the Jews and his death so that lavish praise of these benefits could only have been written in the time of his successors. Such praise would have offended the Emperors Jovian and Valentinian, both ardent Christians, had it come to their attention. For this reason the scribes perhaps thought it prudent to omit all reference to Julian.

Finally we come to the most intriguing question of all. Why did Julian plan and apparently put in hand the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple?

The Church Fathers, writing shortly after Julian's death and in the centuries following, had little doubt about the matter: Julian's purpose in rebuilding the Jewish Temple was motivated by his desire to harm and offend his Christian subjects. As Sozomon put it "he [Julian] thought to grieve the Christians by favouring the Jews".³¹ This opinion has been widely quoted by modern writers, but we have to ask if Julian really was concerned with Jesus' prophecy that not one stone of the Temple would remain standing on another. And if so, would he have undertaken such a large project as the rebuilding of a Temple merely in order to refute a Christian belief? It is far more likely that he had a number of reasons for planning to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple and these we now look at under the headings of religion, politics and economics.

Julian was a great lover of the ritual of sacrifice. He had learned from his Neo-platonic teachers that prayer was not complete without a sacrifice³² as the smoke and spirit of the offering was needed to carry prayers towards heaven. In one of his letters he boasted how many animals he personally had slaughtered as a sacrifice to the gods.³³ As Ammianus jocularly remarked in his *History*, if Julian had returned alive from his war with Persia, there would soon have occurred a scarcity of cattle.³⁴ Julian, having been brought up as a Christian, was aware from his reading of the Bible, probably in the Septuagint Version, that an important part of the Jewish religion was the burnt sacrifice. In rebuilding the Jewish Temple he hoped to erect yet another place where sacrifices would take place and where, he hoped, these sacrifices would be accompanied by prayers to the Jewish God

³¹ Sozomon, *op. cit.*, 22:1.

³² Robert L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*, New Haven 1984, p. 189.

³³ Julian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, ep. 8:15 c-d.

³⁴ Ammianus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3 Book 25:4, 17.

for his success.³⁵ Whether he actually believed in this God, which in his letters to the Jews he styled “the Most High God, the Creator”, is unclear. Julian may even have identified him with the universal *демиург*, the creator god found in Plato’s *Timaeus*.³⁶

There is however a most important political reason why Julian had promised, and probably started, the rebuilding of the Temple; he wished to curry favour with the large Jewish community residing in Persia.

In the sixth century BCE Nebuchadnezzar had transported a great part of the population of the Kingdom of Judaea to Babylon (2 Ki. 24, 25, 2 Chr. 36). After the Persian defeat of the Babylonian empire these Jews had permission to return to their land, which many did under the leaderships of Ezra and Nehemiah. But not all Jews returned; some chose to remain in Babylon and later they spread throughout the Persian Empire. Both Philo (*Embassy to Gaius* 245) and Josephus (*Ant.* xv:II:2) wrote towards the end of the first century CE about the large Jewish presence in Persia, in particular in Babylon. At the time of the Jewish/Roman war CE 66 to 70 and the subsequent Jewish defeat, many Jews escaped to Persia, swelling the already existing communities. A wave of refugees occurred again after the failed Bar Kokhba revolt when Hadrian’s anti-Jewish edicts came into force. After the time we are dealing with, that is the fourth/fifth centuries, the Jewish communities in Palestine declined until, as estimated by Alon, they constituted no more than a quarter of the total population of the country,³⁷ a state of affairs caused by the general economic downturn of the Late Roman economy and persecution by Christian emperors. On the other hand, mostly through voluntary migration from Roman provinces, the number of Jewish settlements in Persia under the Sassanid dynasty (226-642 CE) increased considerably, not only in Babylon but also beyond the Euphrates and Tigris.³⁸

Julian may have hoped that his grandiose gesture of rebuilding the Temple would influence the Persian Jews either to give him active help in his war against Persia, or at least remain neutral and refrain from opposing him. It is not known whether his stratagem was successful as unfortunately there are no convincing sources to substantiate or refute this theory, which must therefore remain speculative.

The final reason for Julian’s rebuilding plans could have been economic. As he had antagonised the Christian part of the Empire’s population,

³⁵ Yohanan Lewy, “Julian the Apostate and the Building of the Temple” in *Jerusalem Cathedra* 3, Jerusalem 1983, p. 86.

³⁶ Wilken *op. cit.*, p. 182. Lewy, *op. cit.*, argues strongly in favour of this opinion.

³⁷ Gedaliah Alon, *op. cit.*, p. 757.

³⁸ *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 13, p. 307.

support for his large army about to set out on the expedition into Persia had to come from the other part of the population, the non-Christians. There are many sources to show that Jews were very active in the international trade spanning the Mediterranean world and eastward, reaching both India and China. Unfortunately for my argument, most of these sources are of a later date, for example the 9th century Arab writer Ibn Khurdadhbe, who wrote about the Radhanites, the Jewish merchants who traded in an area stretching from Europe to India³⁹ and his near contemporary Captain Buzurg, who wrote about Jewish merchants who, in the manner of Sindbad the Sailor, went to China to return with musk, pearls and other rare merchandise.⁴⁰ The greatest collection of documents touching on the Jewish mercantile empire encompassing all the then known world comes from the Cairo Geniza and spans the tenth to fifteenth centuries.⁴¹ If Jews were well established as international traders in the ninth century, they may have been engaged in the same occupations from as early as the fourth century, and if this had been so Julian would greatly have needed their help and goodwill. He had to have weapons, other supplies and of course food — an army marches on its stomach — and who better to supply these commodities than Jewish merchants both in the Roman Empire and Persia.

To sum up. At the beginning of this article four questions were asked and I now offer the following answers.

Was the rebuilding of the Temple actually started as directed by Julian? The answer must be yes as there are sufficient diverse sources who agree that the rebuilding was started.

What stopped the rebuilding of the Temple?

In all probability an earthquake occurred which may well have caused a fire and damaged the construction work. Whether the damage was enough to halt the rebuilding is difficult to determine. In any case the project was stopped when the news of Julian's death reached Jerusalem.

Why was the rebuilding not mentioned in contemporary Jewish sources? A Jewish Temple in Jerusalem would have overturned the existing Jewish hierarchy dominated by the Patriarch and Rabbis while the priests, who at this time had lost all power, would again have assumed religious control. Also, the contributions from Diaspora Jewry being collected by the Patriarch for the upkeep of the Sanhedrin would have been diverted to the

³⁹ Moshe Gil, "The Radhanite Merchants & the Land of Radhan", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 17 (1974), pp. 299-328.

⁴⁰ Captain Buzurg ibn Shariyar, *The Book of the Wonders of India*, G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville edit. and trans., London 1981, pp. 62-65.

⁴¹ Solomon Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols., Berkeley 1967-1993.

Temple. As the Rabbis were the writers and collators of the Jewish sources, the Talmuds, they remained silent.

What were Julian's reasons for ordering the rebuilding of the Temple? Besides deliberately offending the Christians, Julian had three main reasons. One was religious — he believed in the power of sacrifices which Jews could make only in their own Temple. Reason two was political — he tried to attract the good-will of Persian Jews to help him in his campaign against Persia. The third reason was economic — he needed suppliers and traders favourable to him to provide for his army in the coming war with Persia.

TWO DECORATED BELTS FROM VAN REGIONAL MUSEUM

BY

ÖZLEM ÇEVİK

This article concerns two unprovenanced bronze belts purchased by Van Regional Museum, Turkey, in 1974 and 1976.¹ Although their lack of contextual information is to be regretted, they contribute further to our understanding of the range and development of a growing number of belts characterised by a vigorous stylistic design ascribed to Caucasian artisans.

BELT 1

Three large fragments, A-B-C, illustrated in Fig. 1, and a few smaller pieces which could be matched with the help of border ornaments have survived from the larger of the two belts under discussion. Sections A-B-C are 21 cm, 25 cm and 22.5 cm long respectively. In our reconstruction, all the fragments, including the small ones, have been placed very close together, though it must be understood that it is very difficult to determine the exact distance between them. The total length of the fragments comprising Belt 1 amount to 76 cm, whereas its width measures 13 cm. The belt was probably supported by a leather or a textile backing. Although only one end is preserved fully, there is no evidence of either hooks, or riveted or soldered loops and clasps. Rather the two aligned holes along the preserved end suggest that the belt was fastened by a piece of leather string or something similar.

This belt consists of two decorative elements: (a) a border that consists of a *guilloche* motif and a row of dot-filled, running triangles set between narrow rows of oblique lines; (b) a main figurative composition which could be described as a “hunting scene”. This representation shows the repetition of the same figures in a procession moving from left to right. The figures and filling motifs have been depicted effectively using a punched and incised technique: the outlines of the animal and human

¹ Their inventory nos. are: Belt 1, 40.2.76; Belt 2, 40.4.74. I should like to thank Ersin Kavakli, Director of Van Museum, for his kind permission to publish the belts, Prof. Dr. Altan Çilingiroglu, for his encouragement and support, and Dr. Antonio Sagona for his considerable help in proof reading this article.

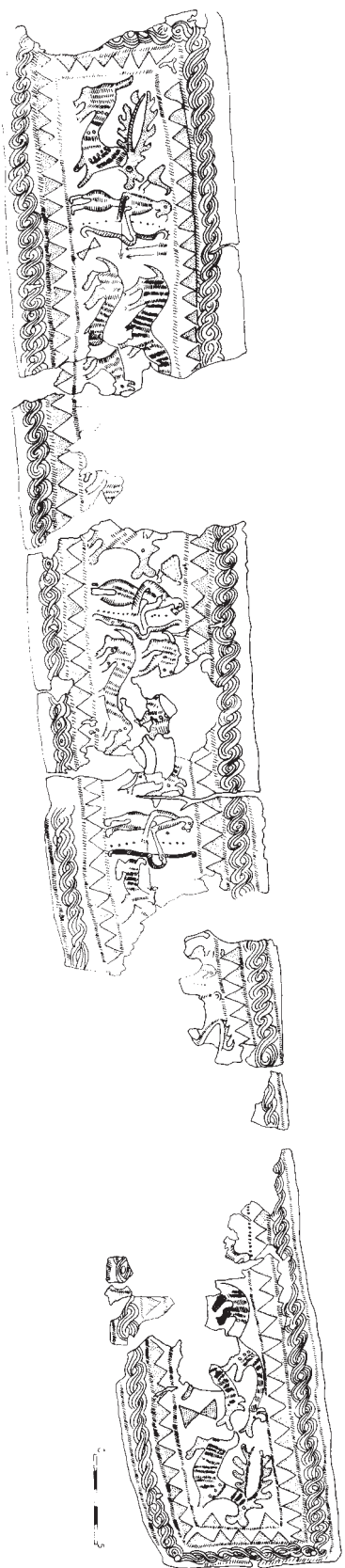


Fig. 1

figures are incised, whereas their internal ornamentation and filling motifs are punched.

The largest fragment, A, depicts a hunter equipped with bow and arrow pursuing two similar animals (*capra?*), while behind him is a deer. A stylized bird, positioned above the shoulder of the archer, serves as a filling motif, as does the hour-glass motif at the bottom of the bow. Here and on the other fragments, the animal bodies are decorated by small oblique lines (or alternatively chevrons), whereas their legs, horns (or ears?) and heads are decorated in *pointillé*. The eyes of all the figures are represented by small punched circles, but the pupil can be recognized clearly on the first deer. In profile, the hunter is rendered in a very primitive style. His costume is depicted by small horizontal strokes, while his lower legs, up to his knees, are left undecorated, as though he had boots. Both ends of his bow turn outward, forming a hook. The two vertical arrows that appear in front of this bow are most probably spares.

A small piece appears to fit the lower border area between fragments A and B. It contains the border design and the two hind legs of an animal. The next scene, in fragment B, begins with a repetition of the previous parade — deer, hunter and two quadrupeds. The bird is here depicted in a more stylized fashion than in the previous fragment. A second hunter is also shown, on the right side of the fragment, and in front of him is a small animal, possibly a dog, who, in turn, is led by another animal depicted only in part. These latter animals appear to be male. The archers in this fragment have their nostrils represented with two circles.

A few small fragments before the last section, C, contain traces of the border ornaments, the head of a hunter and the antlers of a deer. Fragment C again includes two animals side by side. Although their long necks bring to mind giraffes, the exaggeration is an artistic device used to create a sense of compositional balance and fill areas otherwise left blank. An hour-glass motif is used here too. The scene ends, as it began, with a deer.

To judge by its technique, style and predominantly animal theme, this Van belt appears to belong to the Caucasian metalworking tradition. Specifically, its “free-field” layout, decorative technique and animal and human representation have close comparisons with belts found in graves at Mouci-Yeri (Mussi-Yeri), Akthala and Sadakhlo in Russian Armenia.² This group named after Mouci-Yeri is characterized by animals and human

² F. Hancar, “Kaukasus-Luristan”, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 9 (1934), p. 73 Abb. 22 a,b,c.; R. Dittmann, “Eisenzeit I und II in West- und Nordwest- Iran Zeitgleich zur Karum-Zeit Anatoliens” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 23 (1990), p. 128, Abb. 5-6, and J. de Morgan, *La préhistoire orientale*, Tome III, *L’Asie Antérieure*, Paris 1927, p. 297, Fig. 297.

figures which are highly conventionalized with very geometric or angular profiles.³ Their body areas are filled throughout with punched small strokes or chevrons, whereas dots are used mostly for legs, heads and horns of the animals.

Another close parallel, in terms of decorative technique and composition, may be drawn with a belt from Samtavro.⁴ On that belt the depiction of hunters and their bows with hook-shaped ends, and the long, thin animals with heart-shaped mouths, short tails and horns support the view that the Van belt should be attributed to the Mouci-Yeri group. The size of Mouci-Yeri belts, generally 19 cm wide and varying in length from 88 to 92 cm, is another factor that suggests a common artistic tradition.⁵ Despite these similarities, the Samtavro belt bears certain differences, namely, birds perched on backs of the hunters, the depiction of the bow's string with punched dots instead of an incised line and the use of three small circles placed vertically on some of the animal bodies.

Other Caucasian belts with hunting scene have been found at Tli,⁶ Trialeti⁷ and Chabarukhi.⁸ Two elaborately decorated Tli belts have some close stylistic links with those from the Maral Deresi graves at Trialeti and the Chabarukhi belt. U-shaped or arrow-shaped tails on animals, the use of the sun disc as a filling motif and the depiction of hunters with quivers are all common features. Only one of the Tli belts has a shield-like border design, but all the others are flanked by a running spiral border.⁹ Birds are popular on these belts; those on our example are more stylized and are not placed on the backs of animals. Furthermore, the representation of antlers on Belt 1 are reminiscent of the Tli examples. One of the Trialeti belts also shows dogs between the legs of the quadrupeds, or biting at their bellies.¹⁰ The best example of a hunter with a dog can be seen on a silver cup from

³ W. Culican and J. Zimmer, "Decorated Belts From Iran and the Caucasus", *Iranica Antiqua*, 22 (1987), p. 170.

⁴ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 189, Fig. 17.

⁵ P. R. S. Moorey, "Some Ancient Metal Belts: Their Antecedents and Relatives", *Iran*, 5 (1967), p. 85.

⁶ M. I. Markowin-R. M. Muntschajaw, *Kunst und Kultur im Nord-Kaukasus*, Leipzig 1988, p. 79; Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 and 178, Figs. 11-12.

⁷ C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, London, 1948, Fig. 275, 1 and 6; Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 182, Figs. 13-14; see also D.M. Lang, *The Georgians*, London 1966, pp. 46-47, Fig. 5.

⁸ Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63, Fig. 14.

⁹ Markowin-Muntschajaw, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ J.E. Curtis, "Some Georgian Belt Clasps", *Arts of the Eurasian Steppe*, ed. P. Denwood, 1978, p. 94. The dog depiction can be also seen on another belt which is said to come from Caucasus and currently in a private collection in Munich (H. J. Kellner, "Gedanken zu den Bronzenen Blechvotiven in Urartu", *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 15, p. 87, Taf. 12).

northeast Iran.¹¹ Apart from the Chabarukhi belt which has a single line of activity, all other belts display a complex composition. The Van belt differs from the rest through its scattered filling motifs, decoration style and rather motionless postures.

Another belt worth noting, said to come from Iranian Azerbaijan, consists of a hunting scene which is bordered by an interconnected swastikas design.¹² Its complex composition allows it to be compared with the Caucasian group, though its dot-filled archers, quadriga representation and an hour-glass motif remind us of the Van belt. The figures on this belt, however, like the Caucasian examples generally, are more lively than on our belt.

All the above-mentioned Caucasian belts point to popularity of spirals and dot-filled triangles as border elements.¹³ The *guilloche* border, on the other hand, is a characteristic feature of Iranian metalwork and is found on only one Caucasian belt, the fragment from Chodsali in Azerbaijan.¹⁴ A belt said to come from Ardebil, in northwest Iran, also has a guilloche border.¹⁵ It should be noted that this twist pattern is occasionally found in Urartian belts too.¹⁶ Since Urartian control extended, especially in the late 9th century B.C., to the Kura-Araxes interfluvium inter-cultural contact between Urartu and the communities of the Caucasus is to be expected. A few Urartian objects found in the central Caucasus, including two belts from Tli, attest to this contact.¹⁷ Interestingly, the Van belt bears no evidence that might suggest Urartian influence, such as strict symmetry, stacked animals, or the use of animal protomes as motifs.

The tombs that include the Mouci-Yeri style belts are found in the region between Tbilisi and Alagöz, and belong to the so-called "Lelvar Culture".¹⁸ De Morgan investigated about a thousand graves that all were assigned to the Iron Age in this area.¹⁹ The chronology of Lelvar tombs has

¹¹ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 185, Fig. 16.

¹² B.J. Overlaet, "A Transcaucasian Belt with a Quadriga Representation", *Iranica Antiqua*, 18, p. 110, Fig. 1. The writer does not give an exact date for this belt.

¹³ The running spiral design is also found on an Urartian fragment (O. A. Taşyürek, *The Urartian Belts in the Adana Regional Museum*, Ankara 1975, no. 30, Fig. 28). Zimmer and Culican (*op. cit.*, p. 175), however, have doubts as to whether it is a part of Giyimli Hoard or an imported piece from Caucasus.

¹⁴ Hancar, *op. cit.*, p. 53, Abb. 5.

¹⁵ J. K. Zimmer, "A First Millennium B.C. Iranian-Caucasian Decorated Metal Belt in an Australian Collection", *Images of the Ancient World*, eds. A. Sagona and J. Zimmer, Melbourne 1988, p. 44.

¹⁶ H. J. Kellner, "Gürtelbleche aus Urartu", *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, XII-3, 1991, Taff. 53-57; O. A. Taşyürek, *op. cit.*, Res. 1-8; Fig. 1 and Res. 55.

¹⁷ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁸ Hancar, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

been much discussed. Schaeffer dated them to 1200-900 B.C., whereas Hancar argued for 1000-900 B.C..²⁰ De Morgan, on the other hand preferred a late date, 900-400 B.C., a chronology also supported by Sulimirski.²¹ Since some of the Lelvar tombs contained hinged fibulae and a few Scythian arrowheads, Sulimirski dated them to the late 8th or early 7th century B.C..²² One of the Mouci-Yeri graves (Grave No.242) was also assigned a low date (7th century B.C.) by Kuftin.²³ There is a further support for the late dating of these belts. The chariot pole ending on the Akthala fragment has a triple bud, a motif that can also be seen on chariots depicted on Ziwiye ivories generally ascribe to the late 8th century.²⁴ Barnett pointed out that the Akthala fragment either reflected an actual chariot of the Ziwiye type, or was, in fact, copied from some work of art like the Ziwiye ivories.²⁵

Tekhov placed the Tli belts in the period between 12th-10th centuries B.C..²⁶ Another high date for Tli around 1500 B. C. is suggested by Lang, on the basis of stylistic similarities with the belts from Chabarukhi and Trialeti, but few would agree with this view.²⁷ Culican and Zimmer used the introduction of iron in the Caucasus as a benchmark for dating. They pointed that discounting the sporadic and occasional use of iron, a late date for the full onset of iron metallurgy is more in keeping with the evidence.²⁸ Accordingly, they argued for a 9th century B.C. date for the context of the Tli belts, but not as late as the appearance of Urartian influences in

²⁰ Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 501ff. and Hancar, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

²¹ J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, Paris 1889, pp. 68ff. and T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia", *Artibus Asiae*, 17 (1954), pp. 282-318.

²² This 7th century date is also supported by the cemetery at Dvan, where some graves contained Scythian arrowheads (O. W. Muscarella, "A Fibula From Hasanlu", *AJA*, 69, p. 237).

²³ T. Sulimirski, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

²⁴ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

²⁵ R.D. Barnett, "The Treasure of Ziwiye", *Iraq*, 18 (1956), pp. 112-113 and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

²⁶ Markowin-Muntschajaw, *op. cit.*, p. 78 and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 179. The animals on the iron blade from Tli can be related to the belts from Tli, Trialeti, Chabarukhi. The use of the sun-disc motifs for body decorations and U-shaped tails are also seen on the iron blade. However, the blade is dated by B. V. Tekhov (*Tliiskii Mogil' nik*, 11 [1981], pp. 39-40, Fig. 112) to between the 8th and first half of the 7th centuries B.C.

²⁷ Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 and 62. H. Maryon ("Metalworking in the Ancient World", *AJA*, 53 [1949], pp. 117-118), however, explained the fact that it had been rather difficult to produce incised designs on the belts with bronze tools, but that it had been possible if iron or steel tools were used. Related to this matter Zimmer, (*op. cit.*, p. 45) points out that the elaborately decorated incised belts from Caucasus could not be placed earlier in the dating than 12th or 11th centuries B.C.

²⁸ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

Trans-Caucasus. Nonetheless Zimmer accepts the view that certain belts from Tli, Trialeti and other assemblages that belong to the Lelvar Culture in Caucasus can be assigned comfortably to the period c. 1100-900 B.C.²⁹ As for the appearance of the Iranian stylistic features on these belts, some would maintain that they represent the arrival of the first Iranians in north Iran via Caucasus.³⁰ Details like the cart-pole ends which are seen on both the Akthala fragment and on the Ziviye ivories could have been part of the later contacts northwards.³¹

Summing up, Belt 1 does not bear the elements of Urartian art, but rather its border design suggests some links with Iranian metalworking tradition. It also exhibits certain similarities of style with the Mouci-Yeri group and, to a lesser degree, with the belts from Tli, Trialeti, Chabarukhi and Samthavro. Taking all these criteria into account, it appears that our belt was produced in the area occupied by the Lelvar culture sometime between the 11th and 9th centuries B.C.

BELT 2

The second belt is represented by two fragments that do not connect. The larger section is 27 cm long, the smaller one is 10.5 cm; the belt's width measures 8 cm across. No evidence remains of the fastening mechanism.

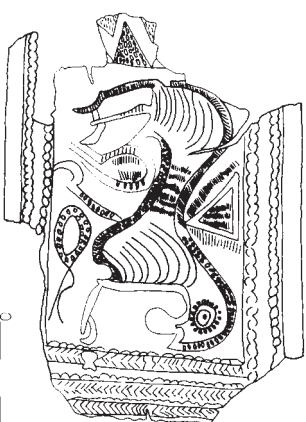
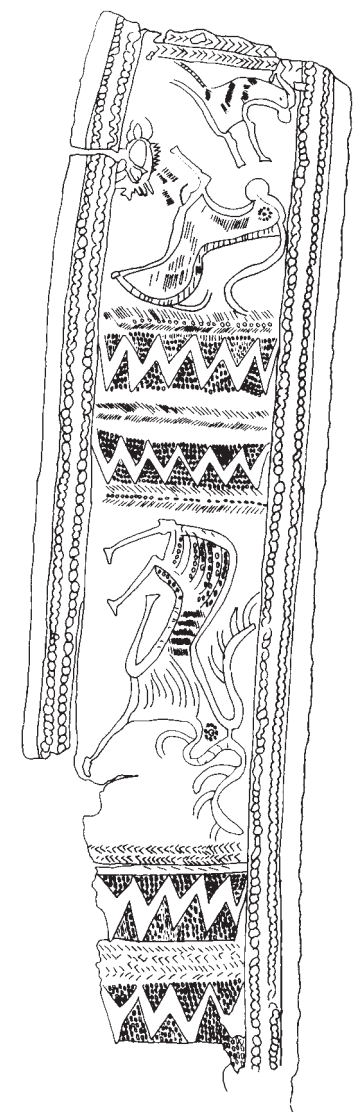
The border ornament is simple — two rows of running loops resembling a crude twist pattern placed between a pair of horizontal incised lines. Although it is not clear whether the border design ran around the entire belt, given that neither end of the belt has survived, similarly decorated belts suggest it did. Unlike the first example, the decorative field of this belt is divided into panels. A pair of eye-catching vertical zigzags, highlighted by dots and defined by incised chevrons and obliques, divide the panel into metopes, each filled with an animal ornament.

In the first metope, from left to right, two confronted animals are seen. The one on the right may be identified as a mountain goat, but the identification of the other is difficult. Both animals have raised their front legs in the rampant position. Their bodies are detailed by irregular small strokes

²⁹ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³⁰ R. D. Barnett and J. E. Curtis, "A Review of Acquisitions 1963-70 of Western Asiatic Antiquities (2)", *BMQ*, 37/3-4, p. 123. The degree of cultural contact in this region appears to have been considerable — Muscarella, *op. cit.*, p. 236, for instance, and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

³¹ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 50. See also Muscarella, *op. cit.*, p. 236 who believes that the flat and arc fibulae found at Karmir-Blur reflect local Trans-Caucasian influence and possibly the presence of a local population.



0 ——— 5

Fig. 2

and, although their muzzles are rounded, their mouths are not shown. The eyes are similar in both, namely, a centered dot circle. The beast on the left side does not have a horn and so it may be either young or a female. Its hind quarters seem to be incomplete. The mountain goat has an upturned, short tail and its long horn stretches backwards. Its back legs too are not well shown.

Only one animal, a deer, is depicted in the second metope. It is shown in running posture with one of its front legs stretched back under its belly. The body of the deer is decorated with curved lines and punched dots. Its antlers are foreshortened and spread across the top of the metope to fill the space. While the first and second metopes are relatively simple in respect of composition, the last is complex. Here the animal that may be a lion fills the field. Its rump and front are decorated with curved lines, whereas its middle is detailed with small strokes, as is the deer's. A double line filled with dots defines the spine and underside. The front legs are curiously separated and the paws are hook-shaped. This time the eye is shown by two concentric circles which are surrounded by a series of dots. A triangle motif which may represent a highly stylized wing is positioned above the animal's back. Another filling motif, a dot-outlined oval terminating in string like extensions, is placed between the front feet. The third ornament, a horse-shoe-shaped object, is seen below the belly of the lion.

The lion on our belt can be closely compared in form with that on the Chodsali fragment found in Russian Armenia which depicts a struggle between lion and man.³² But the decorative body scheme of the Chodsali lion consists of semi-concentric arcs which are popular motifs on Caucasian belts.³³ The compartmentalized body ornamentation of the Chodsali example, a well known feature on Iranian metalwork, is not seen on our belt.³⁴

The belt in the Melbourne collection, said to come from Ardebil, in northwestern Iran also has some links to our Belt 2.³⁵ The elaborately decorated Melbourne belt is framed by a border which is made up of alternating running loops and a guilloche. Its decorative field is divided by vertical ornamental panels. The confronted animal groups placed in each metope have raised paws or hooves, an iconographic design seen also on Luristan

³² See footnote 14.

³³ The animals decorated with the concentric arcs on the belts seem to have been widespread in Caucasus. See M. Gimbutas, *Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe*, Paris 1965, plate 96; de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 298, Fig. 298; Hancar, *op. cit.*, p. 53, Abb. 4; Dittman, *op. cit.*, p. 130, Abb. 10, 1-2.

³⁴ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

³⁵ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

disc pins.³⁶ The extremely symmetric arrangement, and the half kneeling, crawling stance of the animals and their complex body decorations, which include herringbone patterns, crescents, concentric arcs, dots and hatches, have no comparison on the Van example. Apart from the lion, the other animal depictions on Belt 2 are less compressed in comparison with those on the Melbourne belt. The compression of the animals into a narrow field is also seen on the belt from Podgortsa, south of Kiev.³⁷ Dotted eyes and hook-like paws, however, plus an oval object placed between two lions remind us of Belt 2. Another ornate belt, also attributed to the Ardebil region, is in British Museum and includes pairs of confronted animals.³⁸ This belt is related to the Melbourne example in regard to the compartmentalization of design, the nature of animal body decorations and symmetrical placement of figures. On the basis of these examples, it seems that hook-shaped paws are a feature that originated in north Iranian metalwork, alongside dotted eyes.³⁹ It is reasonable, then, to assume that the animals on our Van belt, with their raised front hooves, are a poor imitation of the symmetrically positioned and confronted animals on the Ardebil belts.

A belt in Adana Museum found at Giyimli with a hoard of Urartian material is interpreted by Taşyürek to be an imported piece from Caucasus.⁴⁰ The animals bordered by three rows of running loops are depicted in different directions on this belt. The compartmentalization and internal decoration of the animals are closer to the belts mentioned above than our Van belt. Nevertheless, the lions on the Adana belt with their curiously splayed legs and wing-like protuberances from their backs, and the fore-shortened antlers on the stag, bear similarities with the Van example. If these protuberances on both the Adana belt and our belt are, in fact, highly stylized wings, they may have been inspired by the Iranian winged lions.⁴¹ Further, since some of the Caucasian belts, including the Adana example, have creatures resembling “fish”, it is possible that the object on our belt is a crab.⁴²

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁷ Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, p. 515, Pl. 96.

³⁸ D. Collon, *Ancient Near Eastern Arts*, 1995, p. 173, Fig. 137; Barnett and Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 123, Pl. LII (a). Another belt in the British Museum is said to come from Iranian Azerbaijan (Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 164, Fig. 3). The running animals on this belt may be compared to those on our belt.

³⁹ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 171.

⁴⁰ O.A. Taşyürek, “Ein Kaukasischer Gürtel in Adana”, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, NF 10 (1977), p. 120, Abb. 4, Tafel 18-21.

⁴¹ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁴² Dittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128, Abb. 9-6; de Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 323, Fig. 330.

In this context it is worth drawing attention to the Ashmolean belt. Its border has affinities with the Van belt, whereas the body decoration, kneeling stance and strange double tails of the animals have closer ties to those from Adana, the British Museum and the Melbourne Collection.⁴³ It is to be noted that the lions with squared snouts which are common on these latter belts differ from our round-snouted creatures, which are similar to those on the Mouci-Yeri belts.⁴⁴

Generally, the belts of this category are placed in a time range from the 11th century B.C. to the 7th century B.C.,⁴⁵ and were classified by Culican and Zimmer as primarily later Armenian and Azerbaijan in workmanship.⁴⁶ Zimmer also found the relationship between the Melbourne belt and those from the British Museum, the Ashmolean and Adana Museums, and that from Podgorsta warranted a 9th century B.C., or preferably later date in the 8th century B.C..⁴⁷ According to Zimmer, these belts documented a later preference for symmetry and organization stimulated by the arts of Urartu, Ziwiyé and the cast bronze production of the Zagros.⁴⁸

As the Van belt has no strict symmetry, nor are the bodies of the figures compartmentalized and decorated with complex body ornaments, it is clear that our belt belongs to a different category from the later Armenian-Azerbaijan group. The use of the curved lines for body decoration, dotted eyes, abstract filling motifs and sea creatures (?), a border of running loops border and divided ornamental panels are shared by the two groups. Despite the obvious links to Iranian metalwork seen in the hook-like claws and highly stylized wings (?), Caucasian decorative elements predominate.

Although the exact location of manufacture of the Van belt is unknown, it is likely to have been produced somewhere in the region of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Its date is later than Belt 1, probably around the 9th century B.C. or slightly later. Moreover, if symmetrical arrangement and elaborate decoration are used as chronological indicators, our belt must be earlier than the belts in the British Museum and the Melbourne Collection.

⁴³ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169 and Fig. 5.

⁴⁴ Dittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128, Abb. 6.

⁴⁵ The belt in Adana Museum is dated by Taşyürek (*op. cit.*, pp. 122-123) to 700 B.C., whereas the belt in the British Museum is placed between the 11th-7th centuries B.C. (Collon, *op. cit.* p. 173). Gimbutas (*op. cit.*, p. 515) compared the Podgorsta belt with those from Urartian culture of the beginning of the first millennium B.C., and also suggested that the fantastic animal figures on this belt could be considered as predecessors of the Koban animal.

⁴⁶ Culican and Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-199.

⁴⁷ Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

What exactly the narrative scenes on these belts meant for their creators is difficult to ascertain. Khidasheli believes that the illustrations are inspired by magical and religious beliefs.⁴⁹ Whether this is true or not, they certainly reflect in a vivid fashion aspects of their lifestyle that they considered important enough to expend considerable energy in producing.

⁴⁹ M. S. Khidasheli, "Mythological Motifs on the Bronze Articles of the Caucasus and Luristan", *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Alten Vorderasien* eds. J. Harmatta and G. Komoroczy, Budapest 1976, 353-361.

THE SYLLABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BYBLOS: MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

BY

BRIAN E. COLLESS

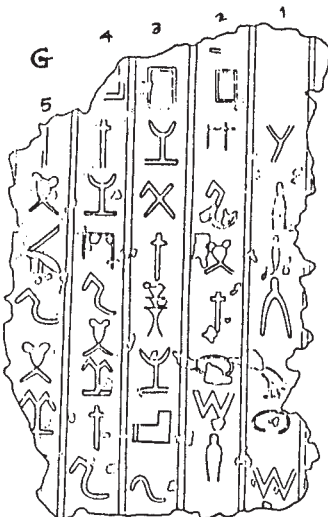
The main texts in the corpus of Gublaic syllabic inscriptions have been considered in previous studies (*Abr-Nahrain* 30-33, 1992-1995). A miscellany of fragments remains for consideration (G, H, J, L), together with a few short inscriptions emanating from places other than Gubla (Byblos). A table of signs is provided for the reader who wishes to compare the characters in these texts with the forms found on the bronze tablets, notably C and D.

TEXT G (Stela fragment)

Description: Dunand, 80-81. The extant portion of the stela has five incomplete columns, inscribed with monumental glyphs.

Depiction: Dunand, fig. 32 (drawing); plate XI (photograph).

Interpretation: Mendenhall, 120-121. It is assumed that the columns run from top to bottom, and from right to left across the stela.



1. ... *yi du* [*du?*] *wa ru* 'i *ša* [*du*]...
2. ... *ba ta ti* 'u *tu* 'i *ša du*...
3. ... *ba li šu tu sa li hu ru*
4. ... [*ba*] *tu li ta ti* 'u *ya tu ti*...
5. ... 'u *nu ti* 'u *ya*...

There are at least two cases of the sign assumed to be *du* (*dudu*, “unguent jar”, as in text A, without the two protruding ends of the cord which appear on the examples in C and D). In column 2 it occurs in the sequence *’i ša du*, and perhaps likewise in column 1; this combination of consonants is rare; on one Ugaritic tablet *šdm* denotes some kind of food, quantified in units of dry measure.

šu tu: Shutu(n) was apparently the name of the bridegroom in text C (*Abr-Nahrain*, 32, 1994, 59-61).

[*ba*] *tu li ta ti*: compare Ugaritic *btlṭ*, Hebrew *bəṭulah*, “virgin”? Or preposition *ba* with a noun in the genitive case.

’u ya tu ti: compare Hebrew *’ot*, Arabic *’ayat*, “sign”, and *’uyatata* in D 24 (*Abr-Nahrain*, 31, 1993, 22-23)?

’u nu ti: perhaps related to Akkadian *unutu*, “equipment, furniture”, found in Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions 22=349 and 32=357 (*Abr-Nahrain*, 28, 1990, 29 and 38).

TEXT H (Stela fragment)

Description: Dunand, 82. An inscribed fragment from a stela which would have had at least three lines of writing. Dunand suggests that it may be a piece of the same stela as J.

Depiction: Dunand, fig. 33 (drawing); plate XI (photograph).

Interpretation: Unfortunately the writing is barely legible.

1. ... *ba?*..
2. ... *’i ’i ? m/wa*
3. ... ?

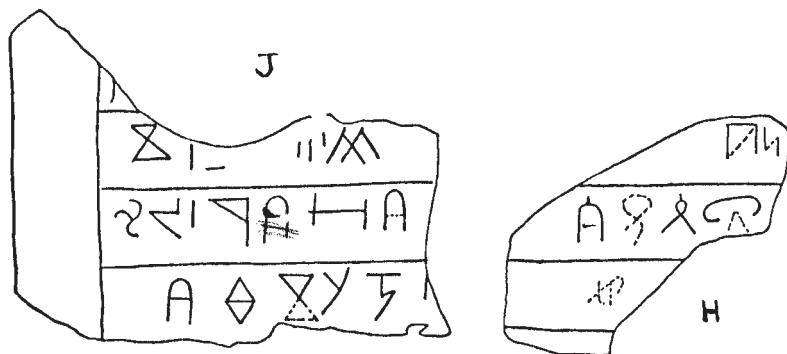
If this is indeed a piece of inscription J, then an attempt should be made to establish which lines join, but this does not seem possible, and both texts remain completely enigmatic.

TEXT J (Stela fragment)

Description: Dunand, 83-84. A block of soft limestone, broken off on the left side, showing that it was originally an inscription of four lines or more, but the top line is almost entirely missing.

Depiction: Dunand, fig. 35 (drawing); plate XI (photograph).

Interpretation: There are too many uncertainties; suggestions can be made for some of the signs, but not for the meaning of the sequences.



1. ... ?..
2. ... ka.... wi
3. ... m? tal-di ša? lu/ra | ma tu
4. ... la yi lu/wi? hu m

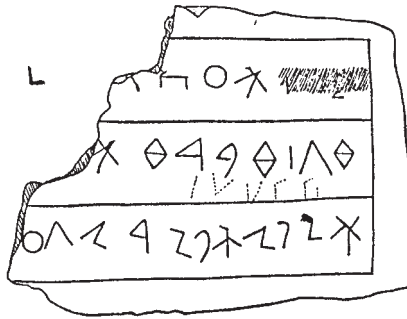
TEXT L (Stela fragment)

Description: Dunand, 135-138; Sass, 104. A block of stone, broken off on the left side, with the remains of a three-line inscription. The letter L will be allotted to it here, as Dunand did not give it a place in the pseudo-hieroglyphic corpus.

Depiction: Dunand, 136, fig. 47 (drawing); plate XIVb (photograph); Sass, figures 280, 281.

Interpretation: Dunand considered the script to be a linear version of pseudo-hieroglyphic, but it looks much the same as fragments H and J; Sass, 104, notes that attempts have been made to read this as an alphabetic text. (Line 2, ignoring the word divider, has been made to say *bgbl rb*, “in Gubla the great?”). The assumption is that the text runs from right to left (as in A, C, D). The first few signs are obliterated. For the rest, with so few characters represented here, it is not possible to ascertain what some of the scribe’s signs really are, in relation to those appearing in the longer complete inscriptions, namely D and C. The third line has a surfeit of *n* and *r* syllables: reading tusks as *ni*, snakes as *na*, birds as *ru* (vulture). The middle line has some additional obscure marks under the characters.

1. ... *ši ta*..
2. *hu ga* | *hu wu ra hu šu*?...
3. *bi na ni ru? ka/hi? ni/wu na ra ru ga ši*



In the second line there are three cases of *hu*, a sign representing *hudšu*, “new moon” or “month”, and it may function as a logogram in one or all of these instances (compare spatula text I which has ten instances of *hu*; *Abr-Nahrain*, 33, 1995, 23-28); similarly, in lines 1 and 3, *ši* could stand for “sun” (*šimšu*). The sequence *hu ga* suggests Hebrew *ḥag* and Arabic *ḥajj* or *ḥijjat*, “pilgrimage (or procession) festival”. The group *wu ra hu* invites comparison with *w/yrb/h*, “moon” or “month”. Or is *hu wu ra* from the root *ḥwr*, “be white”? In line 3, *ni ru* and *na ra* look like the Semitic *nr*, “light” and “lamp” (applied in Hebrew to the sun and moon, and in Ugaritic to the sun-goddess as “the lamp of the gods”, *nrt ilm*); compare the three clay lamps mentioned below, which bear inscriptions commencing with *niru*, “lamp”. The final sequence, *ru ga ši*, suggests the root *rgš*, denoting feeling and emotion. However, no attempt at translation will be made at this stage.

MEGIDDO RING

Description: Sass, 101; a gold ring with incised signs and decorative markings, discovered in a Late Bronze Age tomb at Megiddo.

Depiction: Sass, figures 264-266 (photographs, drawing, upside down).

Interpretation: Sass, 101, states that one sign is identical to the Proto-Canaanite vertical *shin*, but the others do not fit into this scheme; he therefore dismisses this as “a pseudo-inscription”; but it appears to be a pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription, using the same script as the Gublaic

texts. Garbini, 449, accepts this as “pseudo-geroglifico”, written in the script used at Byblos, and he dates the ring to the 13th Century B.C.E.

Reading from right to left:

nu ḥu ta ma | šu ša/mi ma ga du? da?



The first character may be a simplified bee (*nubtu*), or a human figure in exultation (*hi*); possibly a verbal prefix (N or H). The second sign is *ḥu* (new moon), though its two triangular halves are not joined. The two vertical strokes are taken to be *ta* with its top bar missing. Then comes *ma* (sickle), followed by a vertical line, presumably a word-divider, and in the third position after this another *ma*.

The first two signs in the second sequence are a clear *šu* (regalia), and a problematic *ša*; the early alphabetic *shin* could take a vertical stance, but in the syllabic script it might be *mi* (rain). After a squat *ma* we see a probable *ga* (boomerang), and an enigmatic collection of marks which may constitute *du* (triangular jar with cord at top), possibly followed by a small *da* (door with jamb).

The object is a ring, and the occurrence of *ḥu ta ma* is therefore striking, being reminiscent of Hebrew *ḥōtām* and *ḥōtemet*, “seal” and “signet ring” (Egyptian *htm*). It was found at Megiddo, and the sequence *ma ga* seems promising in this regard, especially as it is apparently followed by two *d* syllables (Hebrew *Megiddō*, El-Amarna cuneiform *Magidda*, Assyrian *Magidū* or *Magadū*).

The intervening sequence is *šu ša/mi*: the pair *šu ša* could be read as “sceptre (logogram, *šubtu*) of (*ša*)”, while *šumi* could be “of the name”; hence either “Seal of the name of Megiddo” or “Seal of the sceptre of Megiddo”. These interpretations ignore the first sign, *nu*, which could make a Nip’al participle, *nubutama*, “sealed”, Hebrew *neḥtam*, as in Esther 3:12: “written (*niktāb*) in the name (*šēm*) of Ahasuerus the King and sealed (*neḥtam*) with the King’s ring (*ṭabba’at*)”.

Accordingly, this gold ring could have been the royal seal of Megiddo, perhaps declaring: “Sealed. The Sceptre of Megiddo”.

SINAI INSCRIPTION 526

Description: Černý, II, 222, “unintelligible signs” among several Egyptian graffiti on a rock wall at Roḏ el -‘air, in the turquoise region of Sinai.

Depiction: Černý, I, pl. XCV.

Interpretation: If the signs are not Egyptian hieroglyphs, then they may belong to the same family as Sinai 527, in the same collection, which can be read as a proto-alphabetic text (*Abr-Nahrain*, 28, 1990, 46-47). However, the characters could well be from the syllabary known to us through the Gublaic texts. It is not clear where the text begins and ends, but it seems to move generally from left to right.



The first sign (top left) is an Egyptian *‘ankh*, and there is another in the centre; this is not found in the proto-alphabet, but it apparently functions in the syllabary as *hi*, from *hiwatu* or *hiyatu*, meaning “life”. The second character (top right) could be a large fish, proto-alphabetic *s*, a symbol that is not attested in Gublaic syllabic texts; or it could be an eye, alphabetic *‘ayin* or syllabic *‘a(yin)*; but the two strokes at the bottom suggest it is a fuller version of *bi*, *bikitu*, “weeping”. Between these two large signs is a small human figure, but it is not in an attitude of jumping for joy, to denote proto-alphabetic *h* or syllabic *hi(llulu)*; the large star-figures below it and to its right seem more suited to this purpose, portraying a person in jubilation; consequently the nearest equivalent for the small character, on the syllabaic table, seems to be *ta(bu)*, “good” (hence “a good life”?); but at the time of writing I was confronted by a modern logo which uses a similar figure for a human being, and the symbol here may simply be an ideogram for “human”.

The four characters running in a line at the centre could be: first, *lu(bnu)*, the white of an eye, or an incomplete eye, *‘a(yin)*, or *-m* (on its

side); second, an unusual but fairly clear snake, *na*; then two cases of *bu* (flowering reed). The sequence *nabubu* may be related to Hebrew *nābūb*, “hollow, empty”, with connotations such as foolishness or hunger.

At the bottom are two ovals, perhaps *pu*, “mouth”, hitherto only attested in the proto-alphabet, but there is possibly another instance in Lamp Inscription 2 (see below). What follows, taken as a unit, could be a seated figure, perhaps the Egyptian determinative for woman, or god. If the marks are viewed as two separate signs, *tu(rru)* (“knot”) emerges, accompanied by a triangle, which could be *zi* (ziggurat, pyramid) with its central horizontal bar omitted, or *ra* (a stylized head), lacking its vertical stroke (neck). Accepting the sequence as *pu pu tu ra*, we have the root *pṯr*, “part, divide” (perhaps “a parted mouth”, though the vowels do not correspond to those of the Hebrew passive participle, *qatul*). Note that in Psalm 22:8, the Hebrew Hip‘il of *pṯr* is used in a context of mocking laughter (*lʿg*, Hip., “deride, jeer”): *yapṯîru bāšāpā*, denoting a derisive action with the lip, perhaps sneering.

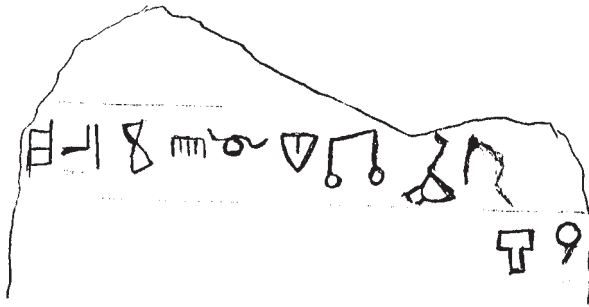
One solution would be to take this as a Canaanite rebus (a puzzle made up of pictures representing syllables and words), based on but not limited to the Gublaic syllabary. The upper portion could be read logographically and ideographically: “Human life (is) weeping, life (is) rejoicing”. The lower section might say: “Rejoicing (is) an empty eye (not filled with tears) (and) a parted mouth (open and laughing)”. However, other possibilities should be pursued.

OSTRAKON FROM EGYPT

Description: Petrie, 10. A limestone ostrakon with ink-written text, one of six “Egyptian ostraka with foreign signs” (Frontispiece), acquired from “a Qurneh dealer”, together with dozens of Hieratic Egyptian ostraka; Petrie assumed they were from the region of Thebes, either from the Ramesseum (temple of Ramesses II, 13th century B.C.E.) or from the royal tombs.

Depiction: Petrie, Frontispiece (photograph, upside down).

Interpretation: The other five inscriptions in this set seem to be proto-alphabetic, and will be considered in a separate study. This one will be treated as syllabic, reading the first line from left to right, and the second line from right to left (that is, boustrophedon).



1. *da hu wi ḥa ši du ta ru ti?*
2. *wu? mi*

The first sign is a door, *da*; the second is apparently *hu* (possibly *ga*); then *wi*, a copper ingot; next *ḥa*, a rainstorm; *ši* is my interpretation of the following sign, to be discussed further below; what looks like a vulva (as in the early Sumerian script) would in this setting be *du*, an unguent jar, though the string is not protruding at the top, but hanging down; the pair of semiquavers is puzzling, but may well be *ta*, a grape vine (with grapes?); the bird should be a vulture, *ru*; the obscure mark at the end of the line looks like *ti*; then a circle with a tail, possibly *wu*; and finally an altar, *mi*.

The sign taken to be *ši* is interesting: in my first study of the proto-alphabet (*Abr-Nahrain*, 26, 1988, 34 [table of signs] and 50-51) I surmised that the letter *š* (acrophonically derived from the West Semitic word for "sun", *šmš*) might be a simplification of one of the Egyptian hieroglyphs for the sun (N6), composed of the sun-disk and the uraeus serpent of the god Ra; the sun-disk has been removed, leaving only the snake; possible support for this hypothesis is found in Canaanite alphabetic cuneiform texts, where *š* could be represented by a circle (the sun-disk?); and after studying the syllabary of Byblos, I suggested that the circle sign in this signary was the sun (apparently *šimšu*), whereas the double V sign was *šadu*, "breast" (*Abr-Nahrain*, 30, 1992, 90-91). In the inscription before us we have an apparent instance of the sun-disk combined with the serpent. Is this the confirmation I am seeking for my hypothesis? Be that as it may, the use of two different but similar characters for *š* in the proto-alphabet must be accepted as a definite possibility, since *s* (Samek) was sometimes a fish and sometimes a spinal column (*Abr-Nahrain*, 29, 1991, 28-29), and *k* was alternatively a hand or a palm branch (*Abr-Nahrain*, 28, 1990, 4; 30, 1992, 78-79).

The sequence *ši du* suggests Hebrew *šīd*, Arabic *šīd*, "lime, plaster", but this idea will not solve the enigma. One interpretation will be tried,

working from the context of the inscription. It was presumed to be connected with a temple or a tomb, where one might find a door, copper, an altar, the sun-god, and the vulture-goddess, all of which occur as signs in the text. We could read the first six signs logographically and syllabically thus:

daltu-hu wiru ḥa-ši-du its door (is) solid copper.

This translation is achieved by equating *ḥašidu* with Hebrew *ḥasid* ("loyal"), from the root *ḥsd* (Arabic *ḥšd*), denoting communal solidarity. However, it leaves the door open for other interpretations of this and the remainder of the text.

INSCRIBED LAMPS FROM EGYPT

Three inscriptions are appended here with grave misgivings. They may in fact be inauthentic, but they deserve to be mentioned either as a cautionary tale or as a motivation for seeking others of the same kind. In 1994, Jonathan Dickson informed me of five inscribed terra-cotta objects offered for sale in the shop of an antiquities dealer in Melbourne, including three lamps, at least one of which seemed to him to have Gublaic syllabic writing on it. He provided me with drawings of all five inscriptions. Their provenance was stated as Upper Nile Delta (for the lamps), and Lower Delta (for the two figures: a monkey, and a woman lying on her back). These articles were sent to the University of Wollongong for thermoluminescence dating. The tests yielded 540 years for the two figures (late Medieval forgeries?), and 25 years for the three lamps. Consequently the dealer returned them all to their Egyptian supplier, before I had an opportunity to examine them myself.

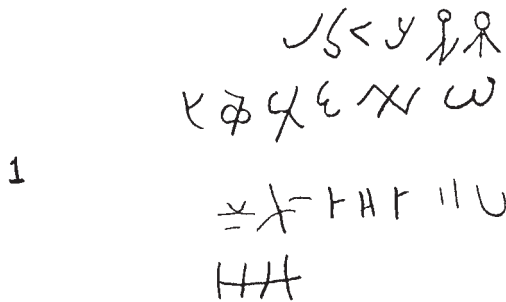
There are at least two possible ways of redeeming them as worthy of our attention. Firstly, we may suppose that the lamps are in fact ancient, but someone has fired them again in recent times, causing an erroneous dating; furthermore, the spherical lamp has some painted markings, very indistinct, in addition to its incised characters, and this fading could be due to the thousands of years of its existence. Alternatively, the objects may be modern copies of genuine articles, and the inscriptions are not mere doodlings of the fabricator, but faithful facsimiles of the original markings, analogous to the pictures and hieroglyphic texts (painted on papyrus and engraved on metal plates) that are sold by hawkers in Egypt today. Accordingly, the lamps merit some consideration here; but the other two inscriptions appear to be alphabetic and will be set aside in this context.

After many fruitless hours of pondering over the individual signs, a thought came to me: if the texts are read from left to right (not the normal direction) each appears to begin with *niru*, “lamp” (Hebrew *nīr* and *nēr*). The characters are a tusk (*nighatu*) and the simplified form of a vulture (*ruḥamu*). For the rest of the letters an attempt has been made to find the nearest equivalent on my chart. However, the table of signs is not complete, and some of the missing characters (*gi*, *yu*, *pu*, *ša*, *ši*, *šu*, *qa*, *qi*, *qu*) may be represented in these texts. Amid so much uncertainty, it will be difficult to identify any of them; but there may be a *pu* (“mouth”) in the third lamp inscription, where the eye (*a*) has two extra details serving to distinguish it from the mouth.

LAMP INSCRIPTION 1

Description: Jonathan Dickson describes it as a terra-cotta sphere, pierced at the top, about 15 cm in circumference, apparently depicting an ibex and a boar. There are two lines of incised writing, and some eight painted characters, difficult to discern.

Interpretation: Only the the incised text will be examined for possible decipherment, but Dickson’s drawing for both sets of markings are reproduced below. The inscription appears to be written boustrophedon, initially from left to right and then from right to left.



ni ru ga li ta bi
ša šu ša nu? qa? yi (or: yi qa? nu? ša šu ša)

Can we understand the first line as saying “nice round lamp”? The “lamp” sequence, *ni ru*, is followed by a boomerang, *ga*, and a distorted *li*, as in Lamp 2. The presumed *ta* (hieroglyph *nefer*, “good”) is inverted, from an Egyptian point of view, but it has all the expected features: a circle, a

stem, and two cross bars (oblique but in the correct position, towards the end of the vertical line). The *bi* is also closer to the Egyptian model of a weeping eye by having a circle for the eye (the Gublaic version omits the top of the eye); note the possible *bi* in Sinai Inscription 526, which is a complete eye with two teardrops. Thus, *ṭabi* would be “good” (genitive) agreeing with the noun *gali*, which we might connect with the Hebrew root *gll/gwl*, “roll/be round”, and such nouns as *gîl/gûl* meaning a round object, such as a ball or a bell clapper.

The direction of the second line is not certain, and not all the signs are immediately recognizable. Reading from right to left, the first three characters take us back to the Megiddo Ring (see above). The incomplete swastika is presumably *šu*, regalia, with an additional stroke on the right. The first of them is a horizontal *ša*, and the third may also be *ša*, but it is in a vertical stance. The next sign is puzzling, but it might be a stylized bee, *nu*. The last one looks like *yi(mnu)*, the right hand, but it is reversed (Lamps 2 and 3 seem to have inverted versions of it); but it could be a tail, *za*.

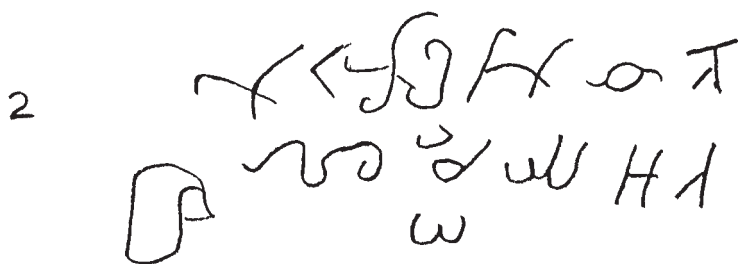
The penultimate sign does not have a clear counterpart on the chart, but it might well be one of the missing *q* syllabograms. In the proto-alphabet, *q* is probably *qaw*, a cord wound on a stick with the end of the string protruding at the top (*Abr-Nahrain*, 26, 1988, 49-50), and the symbol before us could fit this description. Incidentally, in the third line of Gublaic Text A, there is a flared cross, which is unlike the cross standing for *tu* in the rest of the inscription; in discussing this sign (*Abr-Nahrain*, 32, 1994, 75) I tried *hi*, *hi*, and *yi*, but overlooked *qa* or *qu*, which might well have fitted into the sequence *ha ta qa mi*, making it a verb from the root *qwm*, “stand”.

Looking for meaning in these symbols, and reading (against the tide) from left to right, can we see the verb *qny* (“create, get”) in *yi qa nu*, or *zqn* (“be old”) if it is *za qa nu*? Is the name of the lamp-maker Shusha? Is *za* a relative or demonstrative pronoun (objective case) with *qanu* as the governing verb?

LAMP INSCRIPTION 2

Description: Terra-cotta lamp, oval-shaped, about 20 cm. long, 15 cm. high, with incised writing on the top.

Interpretation:



ni ru ga li 'u bu ru 'a mi
yi ? 'u? ša? wu? 'i na ra?
 ša

The first four signs are considered to correspond to the first four of Lamp 1: *niru* says “lamp”, and *gali* denotes “round”. Then perhaps we are looking at an ear, hence ‘*u*, or possibly ‘*i*, an eyelid shown vertically. There follows a ligature of two signs (as with *ni ru*), which could be *bu bu* or *bu ru*. The eighth character seems to be an eye, ‘*a*. The last one on the top line could be an altar, *mi*, or *nu*, a very simplified sketch of a bee.

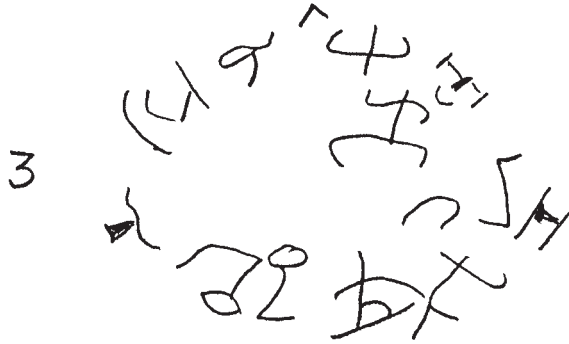
The second line will be treated as running on from the previous one, changing direction and moving from right to left. First comes the ambiguous sign which also occurs on Lamp 3, and may be an inverted version of the y-shaped character on Lamp 1, presumably *yi*, but possibly *za*, or even *wa*. Next in line is a letter shaped like H, which I will leave unidentified (if it is *mi*, an altar, there is no reason for it to be on its side, unlike the presumed *mi* on Lamp 3, which is on a rotating text; and a possible *mi* has already been proposed at the end of the line above this). The third character is even more perplexing; it may be a ligature, perhaps of ‘*u* (inverted) and *ša* (note the *ša* standing in isolation beneath this line). The golf club is a puzzle; perhaps it is an inverted *wu*; or possibly a syllabogram not encountered in our search so far; if it is *ra* standing on its head, then what does the head at the end of the line signify, if not *ra*? A small inverted ‘*i* follows. The curling figure looks like a snake, hence *na*. As intimated earlier there is apparently a human head (with a wig) at the end of the line, and *ša* having a third line to itself.

The uncertainties are so profuse that a meaning for the text can not be given.

LAMP INSCRIPTION 3

Description: Terra-cotta lamp, about 20 cm. in circumference, with incised writing on the top, too difficult to transcribe, but the incised signs on the base have been copied by Dickson, as reproduced below.

Interpretation:



ni ru za/yil/wa 'a ga li
di/sa hi ta'u na mi
nu lu pa pu ta ya

Again we have *niru*, “lamp”, then an ambiguous sign, and an elaborate eye for ‘*a*’; next *ga* and (by analogy with the *gali* in inscriptions 1 and 2) *li*, though the sign differs in shape from the other two; it would not be *hi*, a probable example of which appears immediately below it. The group ‘*a ga li*’ invites a connection with Hebrew ‘*āgāl*’, “round”, or ‘*ōgāl*’, “something round, basin”.

In the central cluster there is no clarity on either the order or the values of the signs. If the next character (in a sloping stance) is horizontal it could be *di* (if so, it might help us understand what *di* represents); if vertical it might be *sa(maku)*, a spinal column. As already noted, there is an exultant *hi* at this point; below it is a very rounded *ta* (comparable with another possible instance in the penultimate position) or else it is ‘*u*’ (ten); an angular snake makes *na*; then a slanting *mi*, an altar, though the base line is an unusual feature.

The bottom string of signs needs disentangling: it begins with a bee (*nu*) or another rejoicer (*hi*); next perhaps *lu* (a strange version of the white of an eye); *pa* is the eye and nose of a face (*panu*); *pu* is a mouth; and the presumed *ta* is followed by a puzzling sign, which cannot be *mi*, if we accept the sign immediately opposite it (on the circle of writing) as the altar; its

top is not flat and the curved line might represent ox-horns, hence 'a, or it might be a distorted ya, with the ends pointing up rather than down.

Again, apart from the initial lamp-reference, no obvious meaning has leaped out of the sequences, but there may be some personal names hidden in them.

These ten inscriptions have proved to be intractable, because of their damaged state, or the idiosyncratic forms of their signs. They have yielded a few references to lamps (the three Delta lamps, and perhaps Gublaic Text L), and a possible identification of a gold ring as the royal seal of Megiddo. A Sinai graffito may have been a terse statement about the pain and joy involved in human existence. An ostrakon from Thebes may speak of a door made of copper. One thing this miscellany of texts teaches us is that the syllabary used in documents from Gubla was employed elsewhere in Canaan, as also in Sinai and in Egypt (presumably by Canaanites in all cases). Moreover, it even appears that two examples of this script have been found in Italy (Garbini, see bibliography below). Where we have faint indications of date for these inscriptions, we find ourselves in the Late Bronze Age (before 1200 B.C.E.), but the precise length of time for the use of this syllabary still remains unclear.

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Gubla Syllabary

	a	i	u
ʾx	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
b	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶
g	𐎶 𐎶		𐎶
d	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶
h	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶
w	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶
z/d	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
h/h	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
ṭ	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶
y	𐎶	𐎶	
k	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
l	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
m	𐎶 (-m)	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶
n	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
s	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶
ʿ	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
p	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	[𐎶]
ṣ			
q			
r	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶
š	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶
t	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶

Gubla Syllabary

a	i	u
'alpu: ox	'iratu: breast	'uznu: ear
baytu: house	bikitu: weeping	bunduru: reed
gamlu: boomerang		gupnu: vine
daltu: door		dudu: jar
haykalu: temple	hillulu: jubilation	hudumu: footstool
wawu: hook	wiru: copper	wu (Egyptian phonogram)
zanabu: tail	ziqquratu: pyramid	zuru'u: arm
ḥazizu: rainstorm	ḥiwatu: life	ḥudšu: new moon
ṭabu: good	ṭipsaru: scribe	ṭurru: knot
yaḥidu: united	yimnu: right hand	
kappu: hand (wing?)	kippatu: palm	(kuritu: cutting off?)
laylu: night	(litu: cheek?)	lubnu: white (of eye)
maggalu: sickle	mizbaḥu: altar	mulku: royalty
	miṭru: rain	mu: water
naḥašu: snake	nighatu: tusk	nubtu: bee
samaku: support	sim'alu: left hand	sukkatu: booth
'aynu: eye	'ipipu: eyelid	'ušru: ten, tithe
panu: face	pilakku: spindle whorl	(pu: mouth)
(qawu: line)		
ra'ishu: head	riglu: leg	ruḥamu: vulture
šadu: breast	šimšu: sun	šubṭu: sceptre
tarašu: wine	tibbuttu: harp	tu: signature

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

BY

GUY BUNNENS

The bulk of the epigraphic material recovered from Tell Ahmar comes from the earliest phase of Building C1 in Area C at the western end of the settlement.¹ The building went through two, possibly three, occupation phases. The earliest phase must have come to an end in the second half of the 7th century B.C. The approximate date of the destruction of this phase is provided by the Assyrian tablets published below. They were found in the destruction debris of the earliest phase and, as some of them mention post-canonical eponyms, i.e. eponyms who held office after 649 B.C., the destruction must have occurred after this date.

By the time of the destruction of the earliest phase, Building C1, which had originally been conceived as a residential structure, seems to have been converted into an edifice with a more practical function. Possible traces of weaving and dyeing activities have been found throughout the building. At the same time the residential quarters were transferred to a newly erected building, Building C2, on the north-western side of C1 (see Fig. 2 for a sketch plan of the complex structure of Buildings C1 and C2).

The first tablet (T 1) was found in 1992 against the south-west face of the south-west wall of room II, opposite room XIV, in Building C1. It was not on the original floor but in an accumulation of debris above the floor. More tablets, including the Aramaic tablet T 11, were discovered in room XII and in the eastern corner of room XI (see plan, Fig. 1). Another tablet, the Aramaic document T 23, comes from room XV. The concentration of most of these documents into one place and the recurrent mention of the personal name Hanni in the Assyrian texts makes it very likely that the tablets formed part of an archive, probably the private archive of Hanni who would thus be the owner of complex C1/C2 at the end of the earliest phase of occupation. However, the texts were not discovered in their original place but scattered in the debris resulting from the

¹ For a map of the site see G. Bunnens, "Tall Ahmar/Til Barsip 1988-1992," in H. Kühne (ed.), "Archäologische Forschung in Syrien (5)," *AfO*, 40-41 (1993-1994), p. 222; id., "Til Barsip under Assyrian domination: A brief account of the Melbourne University excavations at Tell Ahmar," in S. Parpola & R. Whiting, *Assyria 1995. Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the State Archives of Assyria Project*, Helsinki 1997, fig. 1, p. 18.

destruction. It is thus impossible to reconstruct the original organisation of the archive. The tablets may have been thrown away when the building was destroyed.

It is remarkable that carved ivories were also found in the destruction debris of the same period in room XV.² As the tablets, they are in sharp contrast to the material recovered from rooms XI, XII and XV, among which loom weights and storage jars predominate. Tablets and carved ivories are not expected in a working area.

Two texts, the alphabetic stone inscription and the Luwian stele dedicated to the storm-god of Aleppo, were found out of context. The alphabetic inscription lay in the top soil of Area D in the north-western part of the settlement. No clue as to its original position could be found.

The Luwian stele was reused in the threshold of the doorway between room XV and courtyard XIII. It formed the south corner of the threshold, towards the courtyard. The stele had obviously been recut to fit in its new location. Pieces of the stele, both carved and uncarved, were discovered underneath the threshold, where they were reused, mixed with fine sand, to form the foundation of the threshold.

The original location of the stele is unknown. The text carved on the stele mentions granaries placed under the storm-god's protection. The granaries, together with the residence of the god, might have been in the close vicinity of Building C1.

The hypothesis of a temple, or sacred structure, near area C could find support in the great number of stelae, or fragments of stelae, discovered by F. Thureau-Dangin near the modern cemetery that extends between Area C and the modern village. One of the most remarkable of these sculptures is another storm-god stele, now in the Louvre, that was found reused in a "mur tardif", about fifteen metres south-east of the cemetery.³ Also remarkable is the Ishtar stele discovered in another "mur tardif" to the north-east of the cemetery.⁴ The fragments include stones carved in either "Neo-Hittite" or Neo-Assyrian style. Another stele, representing a woman and a child, was found between the cemetery and the village at a depth of about three metres.⁵ A fragment of orthostat with the hind-quarters of a lion as well as another with a horned helmet, probably the headdress of a god, were found reused together in another "mur tardif" in the close vicinity of

² See G. Bunnens, "Carved ivories from Til Barsib," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 101 (1997), pp. 435-450.

³ F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib*, Paris 1936, No. 1, pp. 134-135 and pl. I-II.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 4, p. 156 and pl. XIV:1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

the cemetery, one metre below the surface.⁶ A fragment of a relief with one of the wings of a winged disk was found to the south of the cemetery, about one metre deep.⁷ An Assyrian stele, with the head and torso of a male, possibly royal, figure, comes from a place between the cemetery and the village.⁸ It is possible that these stelae and fragments discovered in such a great number by F. Thureau-Dangin were not too far from their original position. As many of them are cultic or religious in nature, the building they come from may have been a temple.

Another discovery made during the Melbourne University excavations points in the same direction. A life size statue, found in the northern part of Area C, represents an Assyrian official with clasped hands.⁹ The statue was found in a pit, out of its original context, but the posture is typically one of respect or adoration, as is expected for a statue placed in a temple. It may be assumed that this temple was not very far from the place where the statue was buried.

Other reasons can be adduced. Both in the Syrian and Neo-Assyrian traditions of town planning there is a strong tendency to group palace(s) and temple(s) on the city's acropolis.¹⁰ At Til Barsib, however, the situation does not seem to completely conform to this tradition. The Assyrian palace, excavated by Thureau-Dangin, covered the entire surface of the tell, leaving no room for a temple or any other building. The occupation levels below the palace have been insufficiently explored to allow any conclusion as to the organization of the acropolis at the beginning of, and before, the Assyrian domination. However, if there was a temple on the tell, it would be surprising that the builders of the palace destroyed it to make room for the new construction. If, on the other hand, we accept that the association of a temple with the palace was normal practice in both Syria and Assyria, the only place where to look for it is the close vicinity of the acropolis. The configuration of the land to the north and east of the tell must have made the erection of any significant building extremely difficult. Communication between the temple and the palace would also have been difficult given the steepness of the tell's slope. Only one place is possible: to the west of the tell, under the modern village and in the cemetery area.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 13, p. 139 and pl. X:8 (lion); No. 16 p. 139 and pl. X:5 (helmet).

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 15, p. 139 and pl. X:7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 158 and pl. XV:2.

⁹ Published by A. Roobaert, "A Neo-Assyrian statue from Til Barsib," *Iraq*, 58 (1996), pp. 79-87.

¹⁰ On these traditions see G. Bunnens, "Syro-Anatolian influence on Neo-Assyrian town planning," *Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Near East*, *Abr-Nahrain Supplement* 5, Louvain 1996, pp. 113-128.

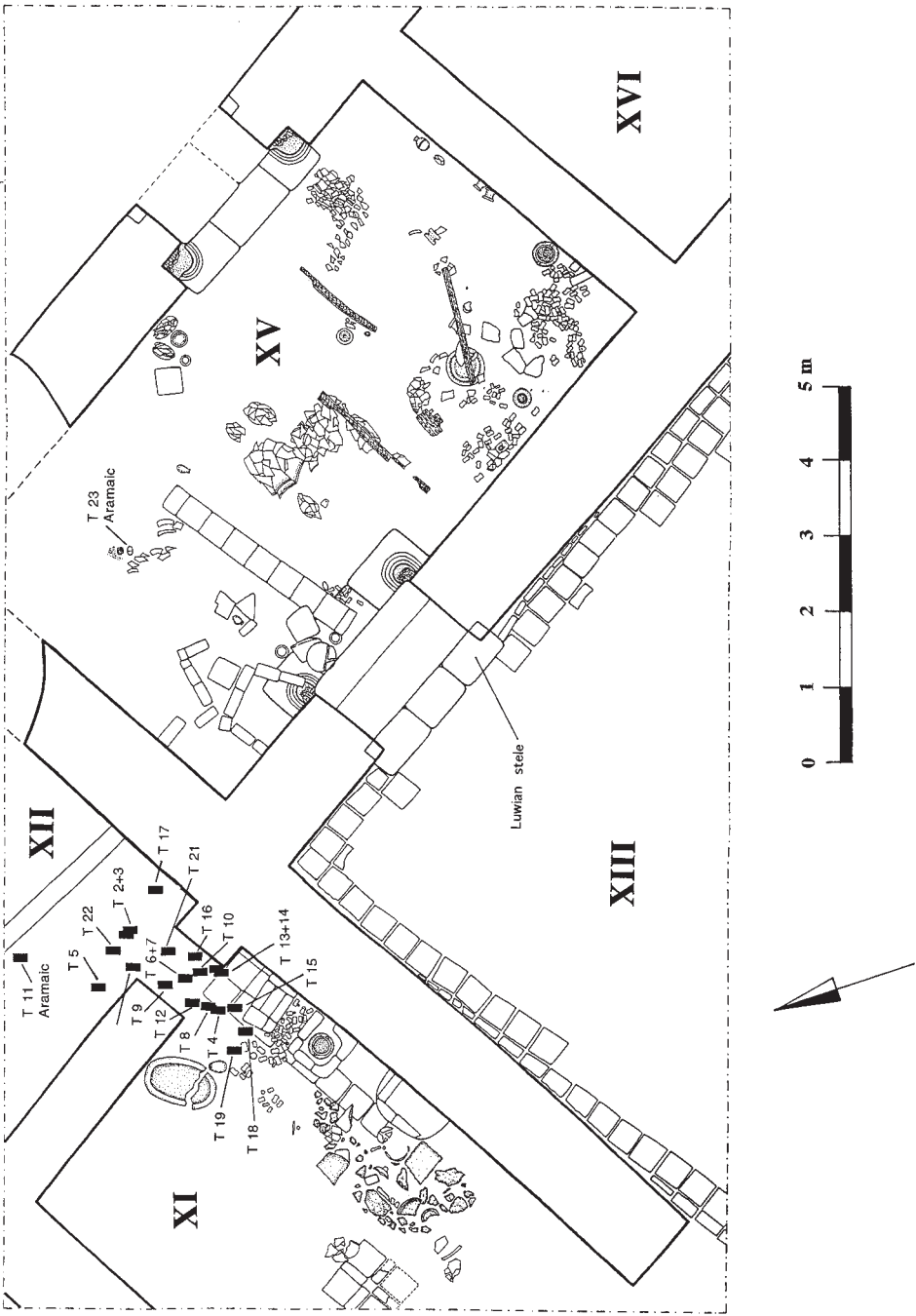


Fig. 1

There is therefore converging evidence pointing to the possible existence of a temple, or sacred structure, between Area C and the tell. It is one of the merits of the new Luwian stele to have strengthened this hypothesis.

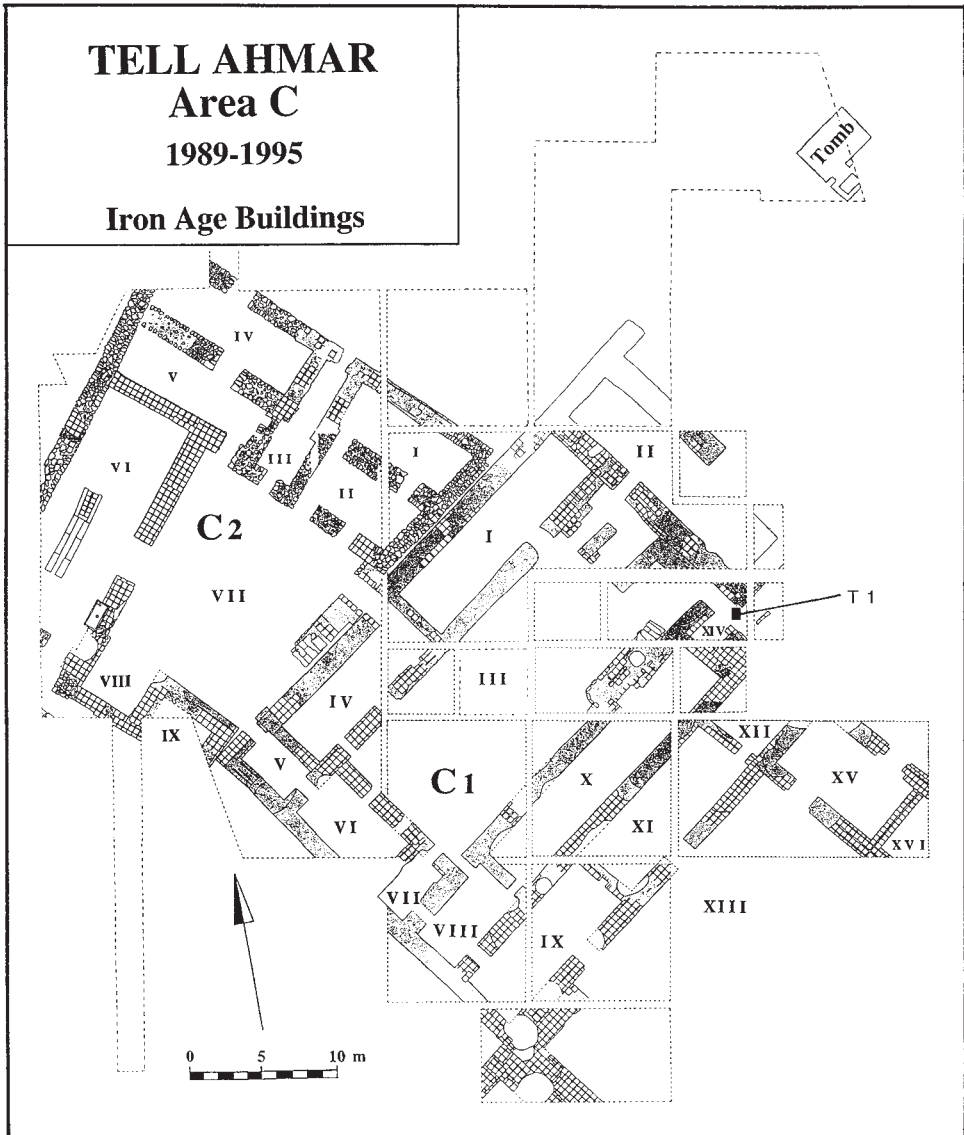


Fig. 2

NEO-ASSYRIAN TABLETS FROM TIL BARSIB

BY

STEPHANIE M. DALLEY

This preliminary edition of tablets found at Tell Ahmar is the result of a few days' study in the Aleppo Museum of Antiquities in October 1994. T1 was not available for study, and has been copied and edited from photographs only. Careful checking in good light may allow improved readings for all the tablets. Many thanks are due to Dr. W. Hayata and Mr. H. Hamade for their kind permission and help to work in the Aleppo Museum.

Since all the tablets, with the exception of T1, were found in the same part of the same level in the same building, they may belong to a single archive. Several concern the activities of a man named Hanni: he acts as buyer of slaves in T8 and T9, lends silver in T2, 4 and 6, and his impending arrival with Hašana in T14 gives cause for an official warning. Owing to the fragmentary state of other tablets in the group, it is impossible to say whether he is concerned in all the transactions recorded, or whether the tablets contain records from more than one archive. The possibility that T 13, T 18 and T 20 are remnants of a separate archive, concerned with the activities of Ištar-dūrī son of Samiraya ("the Samaritan"), is described in detail in the notes to T 18.

The dates preserved on the group of tablets include 683 (T15) late in the reign of Sennacherib, then none in the reign of Esarhaddon, then 658 (T14) and 650 (T4) towards the end of the canonical period in the reign of Assurbanipal and on into the early post-canonical period. Thus the business recorded in the group of texts may span little more than 40 years, which is a possible span for the activities of one man or one group of men. The earliest date is one year after Sennacherib's campaign to the marshes of southern Babylonia, for which he had boats built in Til Barsib. T 20 records an EGIR eponym, "the eponym after Bel-Harran-šadua", presumably covering a short time intermediate between Bel-Harran-šadua and Ahu-ilaya, who served as the last canonical eponym in 649. This may imply that there was civil unrest at the time when the extant eponym list came to an end. None of the tablets can be connected with Sargon II's activities in Til Barsib,¹

¹ W. Farber and K. Kessler, "Eine Inschrift Sargons II aus Til Barsip," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 67 (1973), pp. 163-164. Note that the Chaldaeans deported by Shalmaneser V from Bit Adini

nor do any of them definitely date from the reign of Esarhaddon, whose great stelae were found there;² but the number of tablets is too small for any significance to be attached to this.

Because the name of Hanni and the period for his activities coincide with those of a group of tablets found at Assur (all post-canonical, however,) it is possible that the same man is involved.³ Some of the Assur tablets of Hanni name the god Apladad of Kannu' and the town of Kannu'. Others have personal names which are compounded with the god Dada (written U.U) whose cult centre has not yet been identified. The Til Barsib tablets of Hanni contain some names compounded with Dada but none with Apladad. Since it is possible that Hanni of Assur and Hanni of Til Barsib are the same man, the problematic location of Kannu' may be mentioned.

Inscriptions of the eighth century found in recent excavations at 'Ana⁴ show that Apladad was the patron god there with Adad, confirming the Hellenistic evidence from Palmyra and Dura Europos for Aphlad as the god of 'Ana (Dû 'Anat).⁵ From the book of Job as well as from cuneiform and Hellenistic sources, Apladad is now well established as a major god of Suhu. Tablets found at Assur which list men of Kannu' contain evidence in oaths and personal names for Apladad as a main god of Kannu', and among the names is Suhaya, "man of Suhu".⁶ Because of those Assur tablets, and because one text links Kannu' by road with Adian in upper Assyria, a location for Kannu' in (eastern) Assyria replaced an earlier suggestion for the region of Harran. The latter depended upon Ezekiel 27:23 with names Har-ran, Kanneh (LXX Khanaa) and Eden (Bit Adini) together.⁷

may have come from a second place of that name which perhaps lay in Bit Dakkuri according to J.A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, Philadelphia 1984, p. 43, and p. 15 with n. 59. New evidence for extended Aramaean tribal movements in the mid-8th century has come to light in the texts from Nippur. By analogy with the Rubu' tribe, every reference to Bit Adini is likely to concern a single tribe and its variable locations. See S.W. Cole, *Nippur IV, The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur*, OIP 114, Chicago 1996, nos. 6 and 83.

² J. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*, BaF 4, Mainz 1982, nos. 217-218.

³ The Assur tablets include ARU 179, 180, 181, 463 and 508; and further texts belonging to the archive are being assembled and studied by Karen Radner. I am grateful to her and Prof. K. Deller for making that work available to me in draft form.

⁴ A. Cavigneaux and B.K. Ismail, "Die Statthalter von Suhu und Mari im 8. Jh v Chr.," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 21 (1990), pp. 321-456.

⁵ J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, Paris 1972, p. 137.

⁶ E. Lipinski, "Apladad," *Orientalia*, 45 (1976), pp. 53-74.

⁷ J.N. Postgate, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 5 (1976-80), s.v. Kannu'. He omits the location suggested by J.J. Finkelstein, "Assyrian contracts from Sultantepe," *Anatolian Studies*, 7 (1957), p. 138 and the reference in Ezekiel.

The position of 'Ana is pivotal not just for its island in the Euphrates, but for the direct roads which lead northwards to Assur and further into upper Assyria, as well as westwards to Palmyra. The direct link with Assur may mean there is no need to posit a second centre for the cult of Apladad in (eastern) Assyria. Kannu' is likely to lie near the Euphrates in the vicinity of 'Ana,⁸ but appears not to be named in any other cuneiform or Hellenistic sources.⁹ If Hanni at Til Barsib is the same man as Hanni who deals with men of Kannu' at Assur, his business interests extend from Til Barsib down the Euphrates to 'Ana and then directly to Assur, the shortest route to the Assyrian capital from the Euphrates. In Ezekiel 27:23 Harran, Kanneh and Eden would then be the three chief mercantile cities of the area around the Middle Euphrates at that time.¹⁰

The names of Til Barsib

Shalmaneser III gave the name of Kar-Shalmaneser to Til Barsib, but this name does not seem to have been used for the city subsequently, except for the post-canonical eponym Nabu-nadin-ahi of Kar-Shalmaneser. The texts edited here mention goods from Egypt (T 12) and three merchants (T 22) one of whom comes from Kalhu. Therefore it is worth considering the possibility that the name with *kāru* implies that Assyrian traders were installed there by Shalmaneser, in continuation or resumption of the Old Assyrian tradition, and the name Kar-Shalmaneser was only used for the quarter of the city in which the merchants lived. This would be comparable to the *kārus* which Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II established on the border of Egypt for the express purpose of trading, and which were put under the

⁸ The possibility of connecting 'Ana and Hana was once raised, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1 (1928). *s.v.* Anat, only to be discarded: J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957, p. 44.

⁹ This and the possibly relevant spelling *ka-an-nu?-[u]* in ADD 460 = AR 199 probably exclude a reading *hé-nu-u'* which would be comparable with spellings for Hana in Old Babylonian year names from Eshnunna and from geographical lists. See B. Groneberg, "Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonische Zeit," *RGTC*, 3 (1980) *s.v.*; and J.-R. Kupper, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 4 (1972-75), *s.v.* Hana. The location of Hana to include the Euphrates region near the present Syrian — Iraqi border is proposed with new evidence by D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, "Fils de Sim'al," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 80 (1986), esp. pp. 145-150.

¹⁰ M. Liverani, "The trade network of Tyre according to Ezekiel 27," in M. Cogan and I. Eph'al (eds.), *Ah, Assyria... Studies Presented to H. Tadmor*, Jerusalem 1991, pp. 65-79 gives a route Til Barsip — Harran — Assur, to which one might add Til-Barsip — 'Ana / Kannu' — Assur if this suggestion for locating Kannu' is correct.

authority of a *rab kāri*.¹¹ To the same sphere belong the *kārus* and *bīt kāris* in Phoenician cities which M. Elat has shown belong to the Neo-Assyrian organisation of trade in the West.¹² According to this interpretation, one may suggest that the trading places for merchants which ‘Semiramis’ established for Median goods (according to Diodorus Siculus II 11.1-3) may correspond to the towns which Sargon II named or renamed. Harhar became Kar-Šarrukīn during his 6th campaign, and in his 7th captured towns were renamed Kar-Nabu, Kar-Sin, Kar-Adad and Kar-Ištar.

The name Tarbusiba occurs in T 14; it is already known from other Neo-Assyrian texts. It is evidently a variant of Til Barsib, but the origins and etymology of neither version is known.¹³

The Luwian inscriptions from Til Barsib indicate that the name of the city was also Masuwari.¹⁴ A “purer” form *Mas(s)uwadi can be reconstructed thanks to a Hittite cuneiform writing as Masuwati and to knowledge of the phonetic shift known as rhotacism, in which an original intervocalic voiced dental may be pronounced and then written as R. This raises the possibility that Til Barsib / Masuwati is the same place as the unidentified place Manšuate which is found in the Assyrian eponym chronicle for 796.¹⁵ This year is around the time when Shamshi-ilu began his term of office as *turtānu* and semi-independent provincial governor there, a period which lasted for at least 44 years. Shamshi-ilu may have been sent out to control a tendency to self-determination but ended by joining it. To that period it is now thought that the bilingual Fekheriyah stela of Hadad-yiṣ'i belongs.¹⁶ The place name Manšuate occurs also in ADD 951,¹⁷ an account of wool and madder supplied by various western cities (madder is listed

¹¹ Examples are listed in the dictionaries.

¹² M. Elat, “Phoenician overland trade within the Mesopotamian empires,” in *Ah, Assyria, op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 21-35.

¹³ Variant spellings are given in S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970. They include *tur-bu-si-bi* and *til-bur-sa-ip*. The anomalous *u-bar-si-ba* should be read [ti]l-bar-si-ba.

¹⁴ J.D. Hawkins, “The Hittite name of Til Barsip,” *Anatolian Studies*, 33 (1983), pp. 131-136; I. Singer, “A new stela of Hamiyatas, king of Masuwari,” *Tel Aviv*, 15-16 (1988-89), pp. 184 ff. I would like to thank Prof. Hawkins for making available to me a draft of the section on Til Barsib from his forthcoming corpus of hieroglyphic inscriptions.

¹⁵ A.R. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC*, State Archives of Assyria Studies II, Helsinki 1994, esp. p. 35.

¹⁶ A. Abou Assaf, P. Bordreuil and A.R. Millard, *La statue bilingue de Tell Fekheriyeh*, Paris 1982, with redating of A. Spycket, “La statue bilingue de Tell Fekheriya,” *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 79 (1985), pp. 67-68 and independently by H. Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie*, Beirut 1987, pp. 23-29.

¹⁷ J.N. Postgate and F.M. Fales, *Imperial and Administrative Records Part I*, State Archives of Assyria VII, Helsinki 1992, no. 116.

in T 12), in II R 53 in a list of major cities and in a fragment of text from Nimrud,¹⁸ Til Barsib under that name being absent from all three texts; and whereas a governor of Til Barsib named Hananu served as eponym for 701 under Sennacherib, Dananu governor of Maṣua(te)¹⁹ served as eponym for 680 under Esarhaddon, both early in the reign of the respective kings. Thus the two names Til Barsib and Maṣuate are never found together in a single text. In the case of the eponym official at Maṣuate under Esarhaddon, the office was held in the king's second year, which was traditionally the slot for the *turtānu* in Til Barsib. If Maṣuate and Til Barsib are really alternative names for the same city, (allowing latitude in naming the quay area, the lower town and the citadel) there is more evidence than has previously been considered for its history in Assyrian records.

Tablets of the same period from adjacent sites

Other Assyrian cuneiform tablets from the same period have been found in regions adjacent to Til Barsib, and there is an occasional possibility of prosopographical connections, which are mentioned in notes to the texts. Post-canonical records from Girnavaz and Sariza, in the vicinity of Nisibis and Mardin within the province of Guzana,²⁰ can be added to the late Assyrian tablets long ago published from Tell Halaf itself;²¹ four records from Sultantepe near Harran, of which two are dated 684 and 674,²² together with literary texts spanning between 718 and the fall of Nineveh in 612; two legal records from Sincirli, one dated 676 B.C.,²³ and a record from Carchemish which perhaps dates to the reign of Assurbanipal.²⁴ Late

¹⁸ Occurrences listed by Hawkins in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 6 (1987-90), s.v. Maṣuate.

¹⁹ A. Millard, "The homeland of Zakkur," *Semitica*, 39 (1990), p. 50 gives evidence that final *t* in Assyrian cuneiform was probably not pronounced and so not represented in Aramaic or in some Akkadian writings.

²⁰ V. Donbaz, "Some Neo-Assyrian contracts from Girnavaz and vicinity," *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*, 2 (1988), pp. 3-30; A.K. Grayson, in O. Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven*, Toronto 1981, p. 127 and id., "Three Neo-Assyrian documents," in D. Charpin and F. Joannès (eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, Paris 1991, p. 359.

²¹ J. Friedrich *et al.*, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf*, AfO Beiheft 6 (1940), pp. 101-116.

²² J.J. Finkelstein, "Assyrian contracts from Sultantepe," *Anatolian Studies*, 7 (1957), pp. 137-146.

²³ F. von Luschan and W. Andrae, *Die Kleinfunde, Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli*, V, Berlin 1943, pp. 136-137.

²⁴ BM 116230, see J.N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, Rome 1974, pp. 360-362.

Assyrian fragments from administrative texts found at Tarsus may also be mentioned,²⁵ along with the post-canonical record found near Apamea at Rasm et-Tanjara.²⁶ Assyrian and Aramaic tablets of the 7th century have recently been announced by L. Bachelot and F.M. Fales from Tell Shioukh Faouqāni, allowing that site to be identified probably as Bur-Marina in Bit Adini.²⁷ Four Assyrian-style tablets dating to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II have been found at Sheikh Hamad (ancient Dur-Katlimmu) on the Khabur river. Two have additions in Aramaic.²⁸

This scatter of evidence shows how strong were Assyrian scribal traditions in the regions around Til Barsib in the late Assyrian period.

THE TEXTS

T 1

Excavated 1992. Clay tablet 3.0 x 7.0 x 2.0. Administrative list of measures with personal names. Photograph: Fig. 3 and *Akkadica*, 79-80 (1992), p. 11. Edited here from excavation photographs.

obv. missing

rev.

1' 1' kak-ku-SU
 2' [2?]-BÁN 'ba-ri-ku
 3' [5]-BÁN '10-reme-ni
 4' [3]-BÁN 'nu-uh-šá-¹a-a¹
 5' [3?]-BÁN¹x-(x)-ia-x-x
 6' [] x 5-BÁN 'SUHUŠ-10
 7' [š]e? 'sa-gi-bi
 (rest blank)

Translation

[] Kakku-erība
 [] 2? seah Bariku

²⁵ S. Dalley, "Nineveh after 612 B.C.," *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 20 (1993), pp. 134-147.

²⁶ J.-M. Aynard and J. Nougayrol, "Une tablette néo-assyrienne de Syrie(?) et le dieu Aramis," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 65 (1971), pp. 85-87.

²⁷ *Orient-Express*, 1995/3, p. 83. I am grateful to Karen Radner for this information, and for several corrections and suggested readings incorporated into the following edition.

²⁸ J.N. Postgate, "The four 'Neo-Assyrian' tablets from Šēḫ Ḥamad," *State Archive of Assyria Bulletin*, 7/2 (1993), pp. 109-124.

- []5 seah Adad-remeni
 []3 seah Nuhšaya
 []3? seah.....
 []5 seah Ubru-Adad
 [] gra]in? Sagibi

Notes

This is a fragment from a ration list. The seah measure can be “big” or “little” and is used both for dry and for liquid substances.

The personal name in line 1' may alternatively be read *kakkussu* (a noun meaning a plant or stone) according to comparison with *¹ka-ku-si* in *ADD* 285 r. 5'.

Line 7' is unlikely to contain the name of the eponym for 651 B.C., which is elsewhere always attested as Sagabbu, usually normalised to Sagābu. The long vowel in the original penultimate syllable seems to preclude vowel harmony with a final genitive ending *-i*. (A possibly similar problem is noted by G. Wilhelm, *NABU*, 1991, pp. 6-7 in which *kulbībi* in an Akkadian text from Bogazköy is interpreted as a Nebenform for *kulbābu*.) For this reason, and because such lists are not often dated, another restoration is preferable.

T 2

Excavated 1993. Clay tablet 3.7 x 2.8 x 1.9 Date: perhaps the year before T 6 (reign of Assurbanipal). Copy: Plate 1.

1. I *ma-na* []
2. 'šā? ¹*ha-ni*-'i'
3. 'ina IGI' ^{ld}PA?-GIN-'x'
4. KI *ta?* *sa-ar*-[]
5. ša GEMÉ ša 1[]
6. iš?-ri-qu[-ni?]
7. 'TTI DUL₆.KÙ U₄[]
8. 'lim-mu' ¹aš-š[ur?-]
9. IGI ^{ld}MA[š?-]
10. IGI ¹[]
11. IGI ¹[]
12. IGI ¹'a' []
13. IGI ¹*man-ni*

Translation

1 mina [of silver?], belonging to Hanni, at the disposal of Nabu-kin-
[].....which the servant girl of [PN?] stole(?). Month Tašrit, [] day,
limmu Ašš[ur?-]. Before Ninurta?-..., before [], before [], before A-....,
before Manni.

Notes

Fragmentary loan of one mina, commodity missing, perhaps silver. Theft by a servant girl seems also to be involved. The eponym may perhaps be Aššur-garua-neri, the post-canonical eponym for c.635 B.C., cf. T 6; alternatively the eponyms for 654, 653 and 652 all begin with Aššur-.

T 3

Excavated in 1993. Date: 650 B.C. (reign of Assurbanipal)

Envelope fragment, burnt, which belongs with T 4, and has part of lines 6-9. Copy: Plate 1.

6. 'ITI DÙL U₄.I' [KAM]
7. *lim-mu* 'EN.KASKAL-KUR-[*u-a*]
8. 'IGI I' *tab-ri-a*-[]
9. [IGI I]'MAN'-*id*-[*ri*]

T 4

Excavated 1993. Clay tablet 2.9 x 2.4 x 1.4. Loan of silver with interest. Date: 650 B.C. (reign of Assurbanipal). Copy: Plate 1.

1. '6?' GÍN 3-*ša-a-tú*
2. 'ša?' *ha-ni-i*
3. 'ina IGI' 'MAN-*lu!?*-*da-ri*
4. KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* 1/2 GÍN-*šú*
5. GAL-*bi*
6. ITI.DÙL U₄.I.KAM
7. *lim-mu* 'EN.KASKAL-KUR-[*u-a*]
8. IGI I' *tab-ri-a-me*
9. IGI 'MAN-*id-ri*
10. IGI 'MAN-*su-ri*
11. IGI 'PAP-*a-ma*

Translation

6 1/3 shekels belonging to Hanni at the disposal of Šarru-lu?-dari. The silver shall bear interest at 1/2 shekel. Month Tašritu, first day. Limmu Bel-Harran-šadua. Before Tabriame, before Šarru-idri, before Šarru-suri, before Ahuama.

Note

The name Tabriame is apparently unparalleled; alternative readings are possible.

T 5

Excavated in 1993. Three fragments from a record of sale. Main piece 3.0 x 2.8. Copy: Plate 1.

Fragment 1.

1' [] 'i?' []
2' [*up*]-*piš-ma* []

Fragment 2.

1'. [] KÙ.BABBAR SUM-*an*
2'. [] *ha-nu-nu* LÚ*/DUMU []
3' [] *x* MAN I LÚ*/DUMU []
4' [] *x an la?* *x* []
5' [] *x ud* []

Fragment 3

1' [U₄.]I5.KAM
2' [] 'x' *ra?* MAN []

Notes

The third line of fragment 2 may alternatively be read U.U-*i* for the name Daddî, rather than Šarru-na'id; the spacing for U.U is ambiguous.

The final line of fragment 3 may contain the name of the eponym, but I have not been able to identify it.

Starred forms refer to ways of writing a sign in Assyrian, alternative to Babylonian forms which are often used in the same text indiscriminately. LÚ* can be indistinguishable from DUMU.

T 6

Excavated 1993. Clay tablet 3.1 x 2.4 x 1.2. Loan of silver at interest. Date: post-canonical, c.635 B.C. (reign of Assurbanipal). Copy: Plate 1.

1. 1/2 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR
2. *ša* ¹*ha-an-ni-i*
3. *ina* IGI ¹DINGIR-*ba/na-di*?-[]
4. *ina* IGI ¹dU-PAP?[-()]
5. *ina* BU-BU-¹x¹ []
6. x x x []
7. KÙ.BABBAR *ina* 3-su-*šú* []
8. GAL-*bi* ITI GAN ¹*lim-me*
9. ¹EGIR ¹*aš-šur-ga-ru-[a-ni-ri]*
10. IGI ¹dU-MAN LÚ*/DUMU []
11. IGI ¹*se-ma?-a-di*? [()]
12. IGI ¹*ú-pa-qa*?-[(*ana*?-DN?)]
(perhaps three lines of erased
witnesses or annotations)

Translation

1/2 mina of silver belonging to Hanni at the disposal of Ilu-badi(?) and at the disposal of Adad-ahu-... []...... the silver shall bear interest at 1/3 shekel. Month Kislimu, limmu after Aššur-garua-[neri].

Before Adad-šarru the...., before Se'-ma'adi, before Upaqa-[(ana-DN)].

Notes

5-6. Perhaps read *ina pu-<<pu>>-hi* ¹*it-ta-òu*

10. Alternatively read *Adad-šarru-¹ib/ba-ni*

This eponym year is not elsewhere found as an EGIR date. The use of EGIR may imply a civil disturbance which delayed the ceremony of installing the eponym official, or prevented the news of it reaching a distant place. In this case the delay is of 8-9 months if the office began in Nisan; but if the Old Assyrian custom persisted into the Neo-Assyrian period of installing the official at the Autumn New Year, the delay is 2-3 months. As far as I know, this possibility has not been taken into account for Neo-Assyrian eponym dating. The EGIR dates for 670 and 650 found on other Neo-Assyrian tablets during early summer months may imply a Spring ceremony or a 6-7 month delay for an Autumn appointment. A Spring New Year ceremony is taken for granted by A. Millard, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 8 and

67-68, but an Autumn start to the eponym year in the Old Assyrian period was shown by D. Charpin, "Les archives d'époque assyrienne," *MARI*, 4 (1985), pp. 245 and 268.

T 7

Two envelope fragments which probably belong with T 6

The only legible part of a line probably belongs to the witness name of T 6 line 12. Copy: Plate 1.

[] *ú-pa-qa-ana-* []

Note

The envelope fragment may have a longer version of the name than the tablet.

T 8

Excavated 1993. Clay tablet 5.0 x 8.9 x 2.2. Sale of a slave-girl. Date not preserved. Copy: Plate 2. Photograph: Fig. 4.

1. ^{na}4KIŠIB 'DINGIR-SU[M?]
2. EN MÍ SUM-*ni*

(three stamp seal impressions)

3. ^{mí}*na-an-na-a* GEMÉ-šú
4. *up-piš-ma* 'ha-an-ni-i
5. *ina lib-bi* 15 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *il-qé*
6. *kas-pu ga-mur ta-din*
7. MÍ šu-a-tú zar₄-pat laq-qé-'at
8. *tu-a-ru de-e-nu* KA.KA [()]
9. *la-áš-šú man-nu šá ina ur-kiš*
10. *ina ma-te-me ib-ba-lak-kat-[u-ni]*
11. 10 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR 1 *ma-na* KÙ.'GI
12. SUM-an *kas-pu a-na* 10-te
13. *a-na* EN-šú GUR-r[a?]
14. *ina de-ni-šú* KA KA-ma NU i-[laq-qé]
15. IGI ^{ld}MAŠ-DINGIR-a-[a]
16. IGI 'ma-an-gur-[]
17. IGI 'U.U-im-me

18. IGI 'U.U-*su-r*[i?]
19. IGI 'tu-ri-aš-[]
20. IGI 'U-EN-*gab-b*[u]
21. IGI 'SUM-^dPA LÚ* []
22. IGI 'MAN-*ha-ri-a-^ra* [LÚ]
23. IGI 'a-šir?-A LÚ* []
24. IGI 'tab-URU-a-[a LÚ]
25. IGI 'SUHUŠ-^dPA [LÚ]
26. ITI GU₄ U₄.3.'KAM'
27. *lim-mu* 'MAN?' []

Translation

Seal of [] the owner of the woman being sold. Hanni has contracted and taken Nannaya his slavegirl for 15 1/2 shekels of silver. The complete price is given. That woman is sold and taken. There shall be no turning back, lawsuit or dispute. Whoever in future ever contests shall pay 10 minas of silver and 1 mina of gold. It (the money? or She, the woman) shall return to its/her owner. If he contests in a lawsuit, he shall not take. Before Nin-urta-ilaya, before Mangur-[], before Dada-imme, before Dada-sur[i?], before Turi-aš-[], before Adad-bel-gabbu, before Iddin-Nabu the [-official], before Šarru-hariaya(?), before Ašira(?), before Tabalaya, before Ubru-Nabu. Month Ayyaru, third day. Limmu Man[nu-]

Notes

The three impressions all come from the same seal. The drawing is composite.

17, 18. The reading of U.U as Dada was established by O. Pedersén, “The reading of the Neo-Assyrian logogram U.U,” *Orientalia Suecana*, 33-35 (1984-86), pp. 313-315. As far as I know, no cult centre for the deity has yet been identified.

24. Tabalaya: the name means “man of Tabal”. Cf. no. 13:21, in which a man of the same name is the father of Aya-amme.

27. Possible restorations of the eponym name are: Manzerne for 684, Mannu-ki-Adad 683, Mannu-ki-šarri for 665, Mannu-ki-ahhe c. 627 B.C.. Alternatively read MAN as šarru-, giving possible names Šarru-lu-dari for 664 and Šarru-nuri for 674.

T 9

Excavated in 1993. Flake from a clay tablet. 2.7 x 7.2 x 1.1. Sale of slave. Date not preserved. Copy: Plate 2. Photograph: Fig. 5.

1. [^{na}4KIŠIB]
2. [^{na}4KIŠIB]
3. [EN^{meš} ĪR SUM-*ni*]

 (one stamp seal impression preserved)

4. [] ĪR-šú-*nu*
5. [*uppiš-ma*] ḥa-an-ni-*i*
6. [*ina libbi* x] GÍN^{meš} KÙ.BABBAR
7. [*ilqe kas*]-*pu gam-mur*
8. [*tadin* L]Ú šu-a-tú za-*rip*
9. [*laqqe tu-a*]-*ru de-nu*
10. [KA.KA *la-á*]š-šú
11. [*mannu ša ina ur-k*]iš? *ina!*? *ma-^rte?-me?*¹
12. [] LÚ^{meš} ^r*an-nu-ti?*¹
13. [] šá TA ḥa-ni-*i*
14. [] *mab?* x *ub* []
15. [] x ú SUM-^r*an*¹
16. [] x MEŠ []
 (rest of text missing)

Translation

[Seal of PN¹, seal of PN² the owners of the slave being sold.] Hanni has contracted and taken [PN³] their slave [for x] shekels of silver. The complete price [is paid.] There shall be no turning back, lawsuit [or dispute.] [Whoever] in future(?) [...] those men [...] who with Hanni [.....] shall pay. (rest of text missing)

Notes

Restorations are suggested according to the previous text.
 Lines 12-15 contain the penalty for contravention.

T 10

Excavated in 1993. Burnt envelope fragments. Main piece 2.9 x 4.1 x 0.5. Witness list from legal record. Date not preserved. Copy: Plate 2.

- 1' [IGI 'DÙG.]GA-IM-^dr_{x-x}' [()]
 2' 'IGI 'a-gur?'¹-ra-a 'LÚ*/DUMU' []
 3' IGI 'ha-sa-nu []
 4' 'IGI ^{ld}IM-li?-[]
 5' [IGI ^{ld}IM-ha-[]
 6' [IGI ']^dI₅-[]

T 12

Excavated in 1993. Clay tablet 4.9 x 3.6 x 2.3. Administrative list of materials. Not dated. Copy: Plate 3.

1. 30 *ma-na* KUŠ.ŠE.GÍN
 2. 17 *ma-na* ^{uzu}SA^{meš}
 3. 3 *ma-na* ^{giš}BAR *si-ih-pu*
 4. 3 *ma-na* KUŠ.ŠE.GÍN ^{kur}*mu-šur-ru*
 5. PAP ^{ld}30-DINGIR-a-a

 6. 1 GÚ?.UN? AN.BAR
 7. ¹*ha-x-x*
 8. 10? *ma-na* URUDU 'PAP-'SU?-'x'
 9. 10? *ma-na* MIN ¹*ha-^rpi?-'x'*
 10. PAP 20 *ma-na* MIN

 11. '^{x+12} *ma-na* ^{giš}HAB^{meš}
 12. 10 *ma-na* ^{na}⁴*ga-bi-i*
 13. 6 *ma?-'(na)* KUŠ.ŠE.GÍN 'NUMUN? (or: PAP-*u*)-A-SU?
 14. 1 SI BABBAR (or: ¹*Se-ZÁLAG*)

 15. 3 *ma-<na>* GIŠ/É x

Translation

1. 30 minas of paint/painted leather
 2. 17 minas of sinews
 3. 3 minas of *kiškanu*-bark sheathing
 4. 3 minas of Egyptian paint/painted leather
 5. Total: Sin-ilaya

 6. 1 talent(?) of iron
 7. Ha.....

8. 10? minas of copper, Ahu-eriba(?)
9. 10? minas ditto, Hapi....
10. Total: 20 minas, ditto
-
11. x+12 minas of madder
12. 10 minas of alum
13. 6 minas of paint/painted leather, Ahua-eriba(?)
14. 1 white horn (or Se'-nuri)
-
15. 3 minas(?), wood/house (?) of.....

Notes

This text lists KUŠ.ŠE.GÍN three times: in the first line 30 minas (about 30 kg by the heavy mina, 15 kg by the light one), in the fourth line 3 minas (3 kg. or 1.5 kg) which are “Egyptian”, and in line 13, 6 minas, always preceded by KUŠ.

ŠE.GÍN (var. GÍN and GIN₇) corresponds to *šimtum*, which is from the root *šmt*. In Akkadian *šamātum* means “to paint, to colour”. Yet the commodity ŠE.GÍN has been equated with glue and varnish in recent years: J.-M. Durand, *ARM*, XXI, pp. 376ff. followed by F. Joannès, *ARM*, XXIII, pp. 134-139; M. Sigrist, “Le travail des cuirs et peaux à Umma,” *JCS*, 33 (1981); M. van de Mieroop, *Crafts in the Early Isin Period*, Louvain 1987, pp. 26-27 and 151-152. In the latter archive skins are usually given by number, but sometimes also by weight, perhaps for pieces already cut to shape before painting.

In those texts from Umma, Isin and Mari ŠE.GÍN is used in the manufacture or repair of doors, walls, sailors’ seats, footstools, tables, pedestals, chariots, bows, drums, bags, boots, sandals, belts, a cultic axe, and clay tablets. At Umma Sigrist has shown that 8 grams were used per shoe. At Mari ŠE.GÍN is used for bows in *ARM* XXI 312. Also at Mari careful observation has shown that administrative tablets of several different periods were often painted with a broad band of red paint (D. Charpin, “Une pratique administrative méconnue,” *MARI*, 3 [1984], pp. 258-59). *ARM* XXI 305 describes ŠE.GÍN to colour 2 *patinnu*-belts the colour blue-*hašmānu*. (identified as woad, see S. Dalley, “Ancient Assyrian textiles and the origins of carpet design,” *Iran*, 29 [1991], p. 124, probably a light blue). The carpenter and the leather-worker are most often associated with ŠE.GÍN, yet the man who makes a profession with it is ^{lu}ŠE.GÍN, attested both in the standard version of the professions list Hh and in the Assyrian version. Presumably it should be read *ša šimti*. Both dry and liquid measures are found

with ŠE.GÍN. Painted wood and leather are well known from Egyptian tombs.

It is virtually certain that ŠE.GÍN is paint, not glue. Glue would be recorded, if at all, with the liquid measure; and a whole profession would not be devoted to the man who glues. Glue and varnish are never made from the same ingredients, so that one cannot take the term in *ARM* XXI 305 as a coloured varnish and in similar texts as a glue.

The determinative or prefix KUŠ which here as elsewhere precedes ŠE.GÍN may either refer to a pouch of leather in which paint was transported and stored, or to leather already painted, or possibly to a base of glue made from clippings of hides. The former explanations seem preferable because the substance is measured as a dry weight. The weights given are so large that painted leather may be a better translation than paint in a leather pouch. Various possibilities for painted leather are: sails (attested in Egypt, and note that Sennacherib had ships built in Til Barsib), shields and various horse trappings. *Kiškanu*-bark with bows is accompanied by *šimtu* also in the Nippur text no. 10, in S.W. Cole, *Nippur IV, The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur*, Chicago 1996, where line 18 should be read ŠE.GIN₇.

2. The sign SA looks more like AŠGAB than the simple *sa* sign.

3. ^{giš}BAR *sihpu*:. The bark of the *kiškanu*-tree used as a protective covering. (*CAD* s.v. *sihpu*). This commodity is found in *KAV* 100:19 in connexion with the manufacture of bows. See also *CAD* s.v. *sasinnu*. In this text it is particularly interesting that materials for making bows in the first part of the list come with materials used by the leather-worker: madder and alum as well as more paint, since the logograms for the bow-maker and the leather-worker are variations of the same sign. The bark of the birch tree is known to have been used as weatherproof sheathing for the composite bow in which timber, sinew and horn were bound together and then decorated, (see W. McLeod, *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*, Oxford 1970, p. 31) as well as sheathing for parts of chariot wheels. Therefore the possibility that Akkadian *kiškanu* is birch is quite strong.

11. ^{giš}HAB^{meš} as *hūratu* (Ass. dialect form *hūrutu* with vowel harmony) was identified as madder (rather than gall-nuts) by M. van de Mieroop, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 154. It is one of the commodities sent as tax or tribute from Maṣuātē to Assyria according to ADD 951. The proportion of madder to alum is usually about 4:1, so it is possible that the damaged number with madder here is '42' rather than '12'.

The relevance of the numbers written down the left edge is uncertain.

An Assyrian composite bow, said to have been found in a 26th dynasty tomb at Thebes in Egypt, and so roughly contemporary with this tablet, is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. It is described by H. Balfour, "On a remarkable ancient bow and arrows believed to be of Assyrian origin," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1897, pp. 210-220.

It is uncertain whether l. 14 contains an item or a personal name.

T 13

Excavated in 1993. 4.3 x 8.2 x 2.2. Sale of slave. Date: post-canonical, c. 636 B.C. (reign of Assurbanipal). Copy: Plate 3. Photograph: Fig. 6 and C. Zaccagnini, "Sulla collina rossa: Sensazionali scoperte a Tell Ahmar, l'antica Til Barsip, capitale di un potente stato aramaico nella Siria settentrionale," *Archeo*, 10/9 (Sept. 1995), p. 30 (obverse).

1. ^{na}4KIŠIB ¹ta-ba-a[(-a)]
2. EN LÚ SUM-ni

(two stamp seal impressions)

3. ¹pa-an-si-i ÌR-šú
4. up-piš-ma ^{mi}šá-kín-tú
5. ina lib-bi 1/2 ma-na 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
6. il-qé kas-pu ga-mur
7. ta-din LÚ šu-a-tú
8. za-rip laq-qé
9. tu-a-ru de-e-nu
10. KA.KA la-áš-šú
11. man-nu šá ina ur-kiš
12. ina ma-te ib-ba-lak-
13. -kat-u-ni kas-pu
14. a-na 10-te ana EN-šú GUR
15. ina de-ni-šú KA.KA-ma
16. la i-laq-qé

17. IGI ¹id-ri-i
18. A ¹ha-ma-ta-a
19. IGI ¹si-me-MAN LÚ* AGRIG!?
20. IGI ¹a-a-am-me
21. DUMU ¹tab-URU-a-a

22. IGI ¹U[?]-AŠ-A
 23. DUMU ¹ma-li-me-ni
 24. IGI ¹15-BÀD
 25. DUMU ¹sa-mir-a-a
 26. IGI ¹SUHUŠ-15
 27. IGI ¹dPA-u-a
 28. IGI ¹U-DINGIR-a-a
 29. IGI ¹za-bi-ni
 30. ITI GU₄ U₄.21.KAM
 31. lim-mu ¹dšá-maš-d[a-in]-an-ni

Translation

Seal of Tabaya, owner of the man being sold. The *šakintu*-manageress has contracted and taken Pān-Se' his slave for 2 mina and 5 shekels of silver. The complete money has been given. That man is sold and taken. There shall be no turning back, lawsuit, or dispute. Anyone who in future ever contests and obstructs, the money shall return tenfold to his owner. If he ever disputes, he shall not succeed. Before Idrī son of Hamataya, before Sime-šarru the steward, before Aya-amme the son of Tabalaya, before Adad-nadin-apli(?) the son of Malimeni, before Ishtar-duri the son of Samiraya, before Ubru-Ishtar, before Nabua, before Adad-ilaya, before Zabini. Month Ayyar, day 21, limmu Šamaš-da[ʾin]anni (?).

Notes

12-13. The splitting of a word between lines is also found at Šeh Hamad; see J.N. Postgate, "The four 'Neo-Assyrian' tablets from Šeh Hamad," *SAAB*, 7 (1993), p. 114, where it occurs in the same clause.

18, 21, 23, 25. The shift from A to DUMU is unexpected, but the PN in 23 excludes a reading LÚ* rather than DUMU.

23. The name *ma-li-me-ni* is not known to me from other texts.

29. The name *za-bi-nu* occurs in the Girnavaz tablet no. 5 published by V. Donbaz, *loc. cit.* (n. 20), in the unprovenanced tablet published by A.K. Grayson, *loc. cit.*, 1991 (n. 20), p. 359 (not dated), and as *za-bi-ni* in the Guzana tablet, dated c. 630 B.C., published by Grayson in *Ladders to Heaven*, (ed. O. Muscarella, Toronto 1981) p. 127, as well as in an unpublished tablet from the same place to which he refers. In those texts as often in these, personal names especially as patronyms often take the form of gentilics: Hamataya = the man of Hamath; Tabalaya = the man of Tabal and Samiraya = the man of Samaria. Note a seal "from Lebanon" inscribed in Aramaic with the name

Tabalaya published by A. van Branden and P. Naster, 'Un cylindre-sceau d'Abilène,' *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 12 (1981), pp. 117-125.

There is a groove across the centre of the upper edge and the lower edge.

T 14

Excavated 1993. Clay tablet 5.5 x 3.1 x 2.0. Sealed and witnessed order. Date 658 B.C. (reign of Assurbanipal). Copy: Plate 3. Photograph: Fig. 7.

1. ^{na}₄KIŠIB ^š*ul-mu*-PAP^{meš} ^{lu*}_{2-u}
2. ^{ša} ^{uru}*tar-bu-si-ba*
3. ^{na}₄KIŠIB ⁱ*q-bi-aš-šur* ^{lu*}_{A.BA}
4. ^u₄-*mu* ^{ša} ^{ha}-*ni-i* ^{ha}-*šá-na*
-
- (two stamp seal impressions)
-
5. ^{ina} ^{uru}*tar-bu-si-ba* *il-lak-u-ni*
6. ^{lu}_{2-u} ^{ša} ^{uru}*tar-bu-si-ba* 'LÚ*?' []
7. ^{lu}*ha-za-nu* ^{lu}^{ša} UGU URU ^{ša} ^{uru}*tar-bu-si-ba*
8. *is-si-šú-nu* *la i-da-bu-ub*
9. *a-di bi-it un-^rqu^r*
10. *ina* É.GAL *tal-la-kam-ni*
11. *ú-ka-nu-ú-ni* *mám-ma(-)mi-ni*
12. *is-si-šú-nu* *la i-da-bu-ub*
13. IGI ⁱŠID-15 IGI ^{ld}PA-*u-a*
14. IGI ⁱNU-MAN-*iq-bi*
15. IGI ⁱ*da-ni-i*
16. ITI ZÍZ U₄.7.KAM *lim-me* ⁱšá-^dPA-*šú-u*

Translation

Seal of Šulmu-ahhe the deputy of Tarbusiba, seal of Iqbi-Aššur the scribe.

On the day when Hanni and Hašana come to Tarbusiba, (neither?) the deputy of Tarbusiba, (nor?) the..., (nor?) the mayor, (nor?) the city overseer of Tarbusiba shall speak with them until the sealed order arrives from(?) the palace and they verify(?) (it). Nobody whatsoever (?) shall speak with them. Before Sangu-Ištar, before Nabua, before Šalam-šarri-iqbi, before Dani. Month Šabaṭu, 7th day, limmu Ša-Nabu-šu.

Notes

A similar instruction is found in Esarhaddon's treaty with Tyre: *u egirtu ša ašapparkanni balat qêpu la tapatti šumma qêpu la qurbu ina pānišu tadag-gal tapatti* "And the document which I am sending to you: you shall not open it without a royal delegate. If no royal delegate is near, you shall look for him (and then) you may open it." (*SAA* II p.25 = Borger, *Ash.108* iii 6-14) Also *SAA* V 98 rev.7'-10': *umâ qurbu anniu-ma šûtu adu bêt unqu ina muhhiya tallakanni* "Now, this man is to act as *qurbu*-official until a sealed order reaches me." These instructions imply that a local official was forbidden to open dispatches except in the presence of a trusted official.

4. *ha-šâ-na*: this unusual name also occurs in *ADD* 34 (= *SAA* VI no.36) dated 695 B.C., reign of Sennacherib, where he is ^{lû}*mutêr* ^{lû}*ēmi* *ša* ^{lû}*šakni* "intelligence officer of the governor" (Kwasman and Parpola, *SAA* VI, p. 39), "agent" (*CAD*), acting as witness to a loan made by a royal charioteer. In view of the final vowel *-a* in both texts, the name should perhaps not be normalized as *Hašānu*. If the same man is involved here, he must be much older than Hanni. The place name *URU ha-šâ-a-na* 'town of Hashana' is found in T. Kwasman, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, Rome 1988, Nos. 126 (= K 33), 127 (= K 420) and Appendix 1 (BM 139950). All three texts belong to post-canonical archive of Kakkulanu, and the first includes a Luwian personal name among the witnesses. The dating allows the possibility that the place name is related to the man Hashana of this text, rather than being associated with the Middle Assyrian toponym *Hašuanu*, as Kwasman proposed, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

10. *ina*: may either mean "from", or it stands for *ana*, "to".

12. K. Radner suggests the meaning "sue" for *dabābu issi*, but this is not easy to reconcile with lines 11-12.

The seal design on the left-hand impression is particularly fine and detailed. Presumably the seal belonged to Šulmu-ahhe, the deputy of Tarbusiba. The right-hand seal impression may have a fingernail impressed upon it.²⁹ The format of the tablet is Babylonian, as is also for instance the *abat šarri* GPA no.182 (J.N. Postgate, *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud*, II, London 1973).

²⁹ It is more likely that the impression is that of a shell. Shell impressions have been found on tablets belonging to a contemporary archive from the area of Harran (see D. Homès-Frédéricq, "Coquillages et glyptique araméenne," *Insight through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, ed. M. Kelly-Buccellati, Malibu 1986, pp. 111-118, pl. 25). Another similar sealing is found on T 20 (see Fig. 8). [Editor's note]

T 15

Excavated in 1993. Fragment from a clay tablet 3.5 x 2.6 x 1.5 with two envelope fragments. Interest-bearing loan. Date 683 B.C. (reign of Sennacherib). Copy: Plate 4.

(beginning broken away)

- 1'. [] SAG.DU []
 2'. *ina* <<PA?>> *ma-na* ša ^{uru}*gar-ga-me*[s]
 3'. ša? ^{tu}*ri-ki* []
 4'. *ina* IGI ^{lip}*hur*-DINGIR
 5'. ITI AB U₄.I.KAM
 6'. *lim-mu* ^{man}*nu-ki*-IO
 7'. KÜ.BABBAR *a-na* 1/2 GÍN-šú
 8'. *i-rab-bi*
 9'. IGI ^{AN}*DAN-x*[]
 10'. IGI ^{sa-lam?}-U-U
 11'. IGI ^{an}*qa-me*
 12'. [IGI] ^{da}*si-a?-di-ni*
 (break)

envelope fragment 1

- 1'. [] ^{LUH?}KUR ^{x x x}[]
 2'. [] x *ma-na* ša ^{uru}*gar-ga*-[mes]
 (two stamp seal impressions)

envelope fragment 2

(one stamp seal impression)

- 1'. [IGI] ^{lip}*hur*-[DINGIR]
 2'. [IGI] ^{na}*qa-me* [()]
 3'. [IGI] ^{da}*si-a*-[*di-ni*]

 4'. [] ^{e?}*mur-an*-[*ni?*]]
 (end of text)

Translation

[] capital[] according to the.... mina of Carchemish belonging to Turiki [] at the disposal of Liphur-ilu. Month Kanunu, 1st day, limmu Mannu-ki-Adad. The silver shall bear interest of half a shekel. Before ..., before Salam-Dada, before Naqame (var. Anqame), before Dasiadini(?). []-emuranni.

Notes

I know no parallels for the name *da-si-a-di-ni*; other readings may be possible.

The name on the upper edge may be that of the sealer; cf. T 14.

The mina of Carchemish, which was widely used in the late Assyrian period, is not elsewhere preceded by PA (or 2-BÁN) which may perhaps be a scribal error.

Another Mannu-ki-Adad was eponym official in 773, but that is probably too early a date for this tablet. It is not possible to read *man-nu-ki-PAP*! [MEŠ].

T 16+17

Excavated 1993. Burnt shaving, probably from an envelope, 3.0 x 3.7, with two tiny, illegible fragments. Probably part of a witness list from a legal record. Copy: Plate 4.

- 1'. [] x []
 2'. [IGI?] x U.U LÚ*/DUMU[]
 3'. [IGI? ^{ld}I]M-EN-*gab-bi* LÚ*/DUMU []
 4'. [IGI?] '*a-di ma*'-[]

Note

U.U to be read as the divine name Dada. See note on T 8, from which one may perhaps restore the name Adad-bel-gabbi in line 3' but with a different spelling.

T 18

Excavated in 1993. Clay tablet with two fragments joined and three tiny fragments not usable, 4.7 x 3.0 x 2.0. Administrative list. Date (if any) not preserved. Copy: Plate 4.

1. [] ^{ld}I₅-BÀD x []

 2. [] x GUR/URU x ^dx x
 3. [] ¹I₅-BÀD ^{mi}PAP-*a-u-a*
 4. [] ŠE.PAD^{meš} *ina* ŠÀ 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
 5. []-*pa-a-a* ¹I₅-BÀD x x
 6. i? GÍN? [] x *a-di-i* ŠE.NUMUN^{meš}

7. *ša* 'x-[(x)]-*ki*-BÀD
8. 1 'x x'
9. '2 GÍN' [] *ba?*-*nu* '15-BÀD
10. '1?GÍN?' [] *x-dùl?* '15-BÀD
11. []x 'š*a-pi-i*'
12. []an uš PAP i ta
13. [] MEŠ 'š*a-pi-i*'
14. [] x HI RID
15. [] *mu-še-zib*-15 1 GÍN '15-BÀD
16. [] '1PAP-*u-a*

Translation

[] of Ištar-duri []

 [x shekels?] PN
 [x shekels?] Ištar-duri (and) Ahuaua (female)
 [] barley rations of which 5 shekels silver
 []...paya, Ištar-duri....
 1? shekel [] seed corn
 belonging to...-duri
 1....
 2 shekels []-nu (and?) Ištar-duri
 1? shekel? [] Ištar-duri
 [] Šapi'
 [].....
 [] Šapi'
 [].....
 [] Mušezib-Ištar, 1 shekel Ištar-duri
 [] Ahua

Notes

The text seems to concern payments of silver and involves also barley rations and seed corn.

Ištar-dūrī: a man of this name acts as witness in T 13, dated c.636 B.C., the son of Samiraya "the Samaritan"; and another or the same man of this name acts as sealer and perhaps therefore also creditor in the loan record T 20. None of these texts connects Ištar-dūrī with Hanni, so it is possible that this group of tablets, namely T 13, T 18 and T 20, is the remnant of a second archive.

T 19

Excavated in 1993. Fragment without any inscribed surface, from a tablet or a bulla.

T 20

Excavated in 1993. Clay tablet still enclosed within clay envelope, 3.9 x 3.5 x 2.5. Date: 649, interim period before Ahu-ilaya, the last canonical eponym, if the name of Bel-Harran-šadua is correctly restored in l.7. Reign of Assurbanipal. Traces of ink notation on upper edge. Copy: Plate 5. Photograph (obverse): Fig. 8. Envelope text edited here.

1. ^{na}4KIŠIB '15-^rBÀD?
2. 8 GÍN 'KÛ'.[BABBAR]
3. ša 'x []
-
- (at least two stamp seal impressions)
-
4. ina IGI 'za-[]
5. KÛ.BABBAR a-na [irabbi]
6. ITI SIG₄ U₄.x.[KAM limmu]
7. ša EGIR 'EN-KA[SKAL-KUR-u-a?]
8. IGI 'U-^rx'
9. IGI 'in-da-x-[]
10. IGI 'ITI.AB-a-[a]
11. IGI 'MAN-di-li
12. IGI 'U-[]
13. IGI 'gi-te-[]
14. IGI ^{ld}MAŠ-[]
15. IGI 'mar-su-[]
16. IGI 'a-tar-su-[um-ki?]

Translation

Seal of Ištar-^rdūrī. 8 shekels of silver belonging to [] at the disposal of Za-[]. The silver [shall bear interest] of []. Month of Simanu, day [x, limmu] which is after Bel-Har[ran-šadua (?)]. (9 witness names include Kanuna[ya], Šarru-dili and Atar-su[mki]).

Notes

Aramaic epigraphs on silver loans are not common; cf. F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Rome 1986, no. 28 which has three lines: L + PN, ZY + profession of PN, KSP'.

If the name of the eponym is correctly read, this is the first occurrence of an EGIR date with this man. His predecessor Sagabbu has EGIR tablets. The third month Simanu implies a delay of 2-3 months if the election of the eponym official took place in Spring. However, D. Charpin has argued for an Autumn installation during the Old Assyrian period: "Les archives d'époque assyrienne," in *MARI*, 4 (1985), p. 246 (see above, pp. 75-76); and if this is also true for first millennium eponym officials, the delay is of 8-9 months.

T 21

Excavated in 1993. Tiny fragments of envelope. One has sign SU upon it.

T 22

Excavated in 1993. Flake from a clay tablet, 3.8 x 7.1 x 2.7. Record of sale. Date not preserved. Copy: Plate 5.

(3 lines at least with illegible traces)

- 1'. [] *ú-piš-[ma]*
 2'. [PN = buyer *ina lib*]-*bi 4* (or: *5*) *ma-na*
 3'. [KÙ.BABBAR TA IGI PN = seller *ilqe kas-p*]-*u ga-mur*
 4' [*tadin LÚ? šu*]-*a-te za-rip*
 5'. [*laqqe tuāru*] *'de'-nu KA.KA*
 6'. [*laššu mannu ša*] *ina ur-kiš*
 7'. [] *'x x x'*
 8'. [] *'x x x'-qi-a-a*
 9'. [] *LÚ^{meš}-šú-nu*
 (gap)
 10'. [] *-ba-a-a*
 11'. [] *SUKKAL?*
 12'. [] *lúDAM.GÀR*
 13'. [] *DAM].GÀR uru^ukal-ha*
 14'. [] *ša uru^uBÀD-MAN-GIN*
 15'. [] *uru^ukal-ha-a-a*
 16'. [] *ha?-ni-gi*

17'. [] x ^{uru}ka[l-ha?]
 18'. [] ab-di-[]
 19'. [] 'x' ÌR 'x' []
 20'. [] x U₄ []
 (rest missing)

Translation

[he] has contracted [and taken] for 4 minas [of silver(?)]. The complete price is paid, that [man?/group of people] is sold [and taken.] [There shall be no turning back,] lawsuit or dispute. [Whoever] in future [] (At least 10 witnesses, including a vizier(?), a merchant, a merchant of Kalhu, an official from Dur-Šarru-kin, and one or two men from Kalhu).

Notes

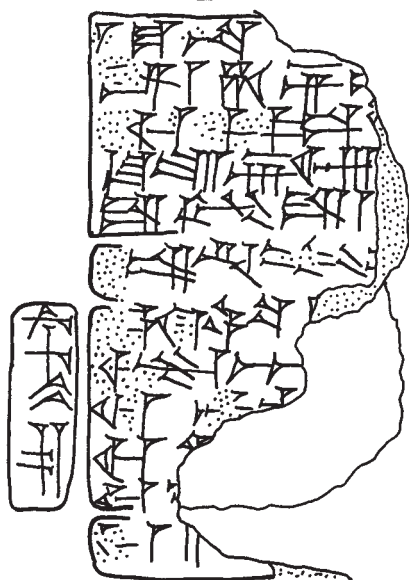
The price of 4 minas is high for one slave if silver, but low if copper. If it is silver as elsewhere in this group of tablets, more than one man may be involved; UN.MEŠ “people” may take a singular *šūāte* as in ND 3426, dated 649 B.C. Alternatively the text may record a sale of land.

Lines 7'-8' contain clauses of penalty for further litigation.

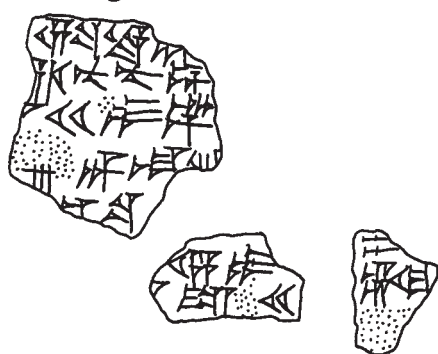
Line 8' may contain the end of the name of the purchaser.

A merchants' town or quarter is mentioned in *ABL* 578+CT 53 247 (= *SAA*, I, no. 114), a letter dated to the time of Sargon II if the name of the writer has been restored correctly as [Assur-bani] governor of Kalhu. The town was in or near Kalhu.

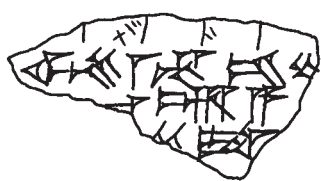
T 2



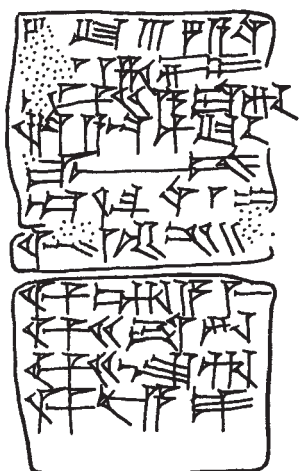
T 5



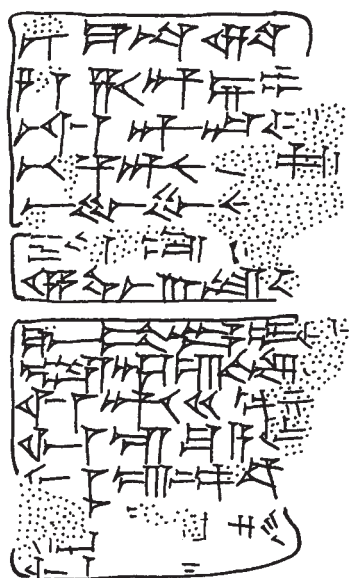
T 3



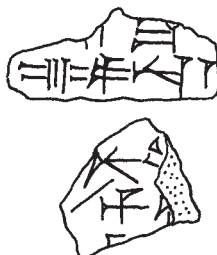
T 4



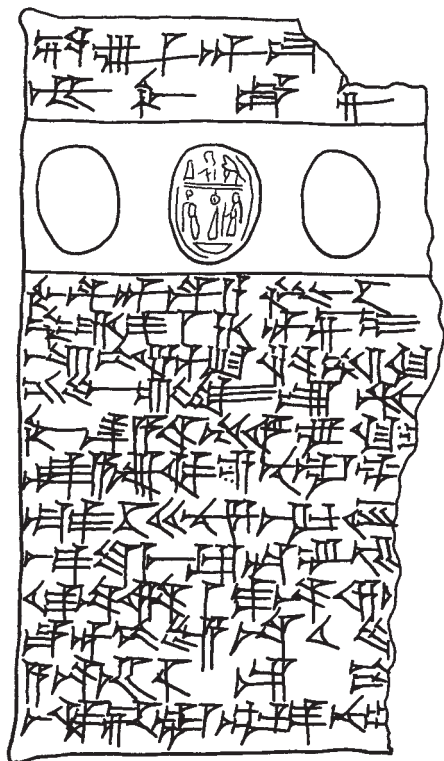
T 6



T 7



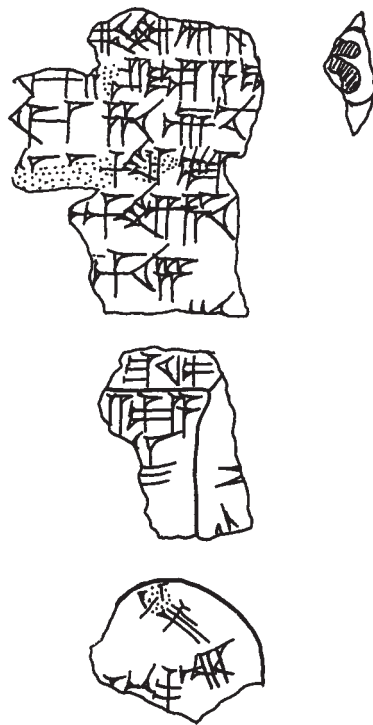
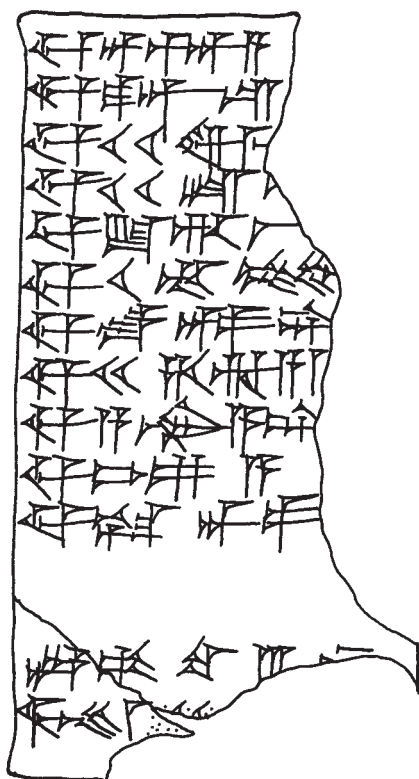
T 8



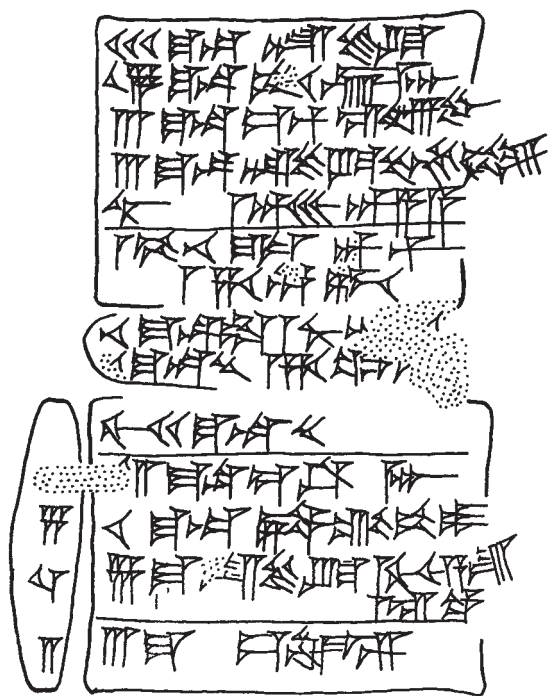
T 9



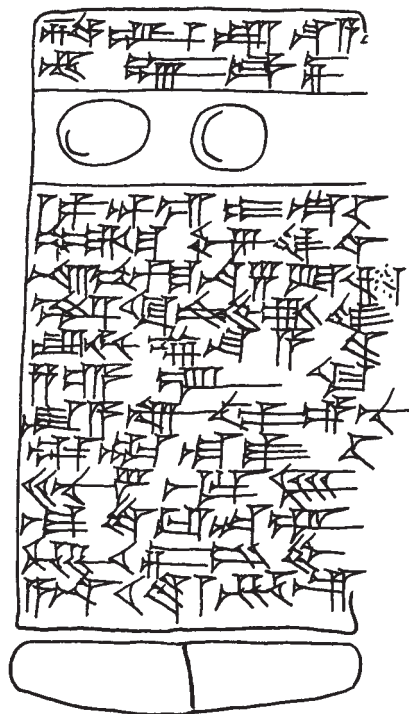
T 10



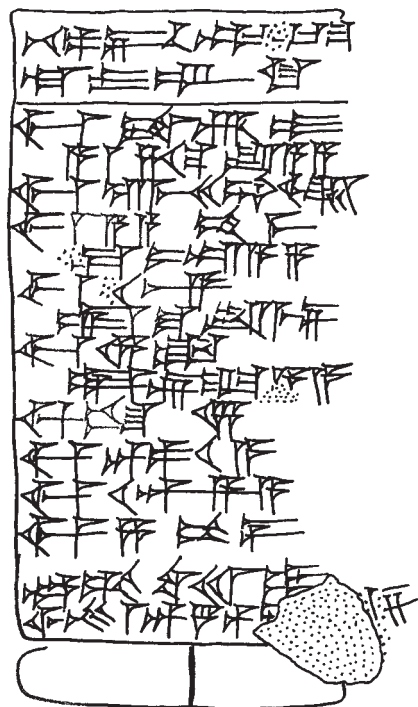
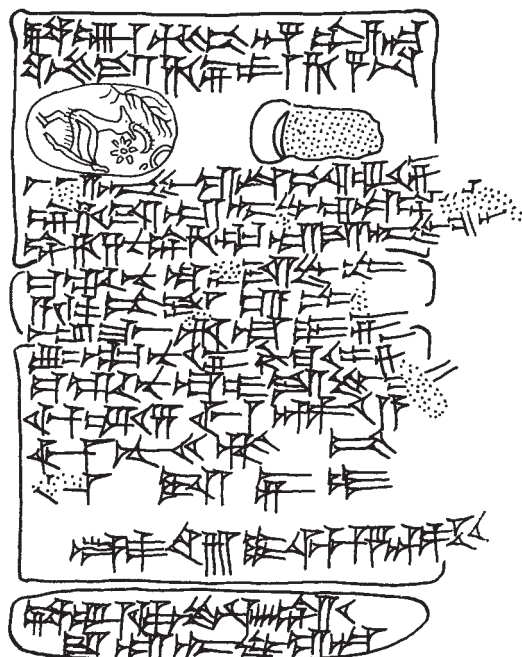
T 12



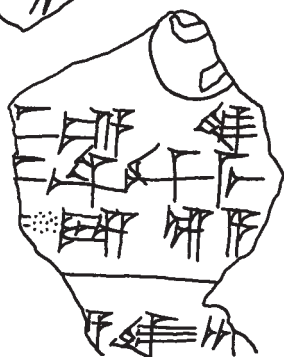
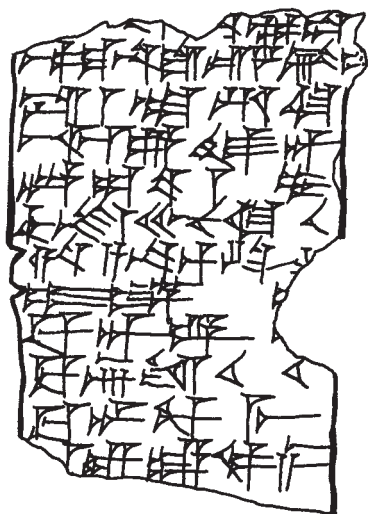
T 13



T 14



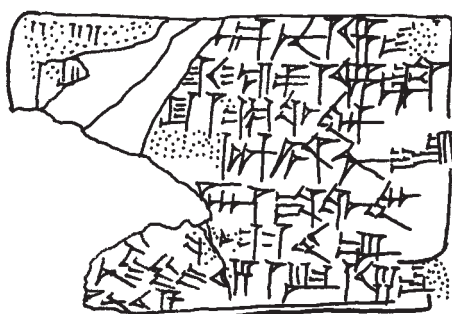
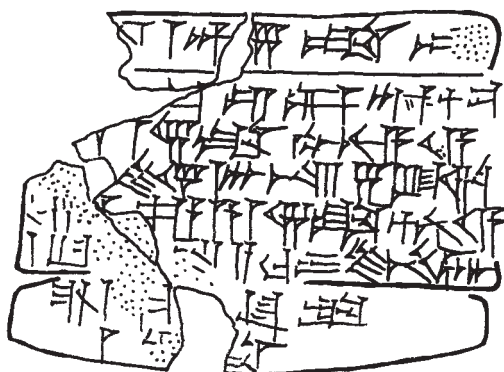
T 15



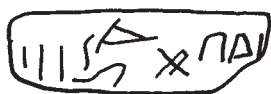
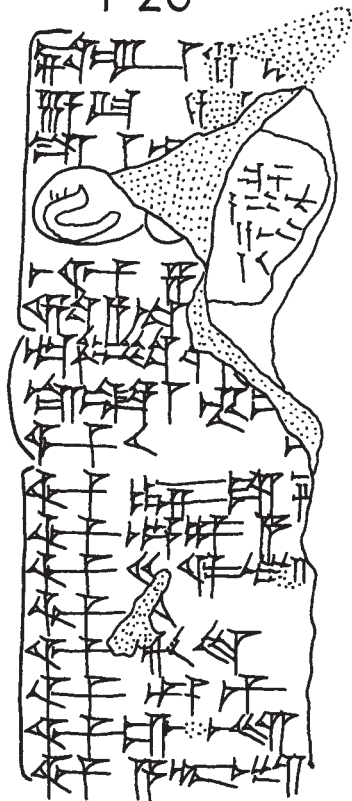
T 16 + 17



T 18



T 20



T 22

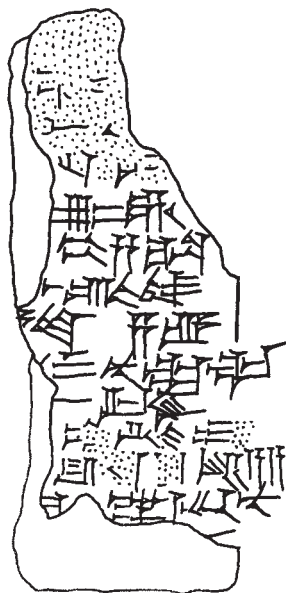




Fig. 3. Tablet T1



Fig. 4. Tablet T8



Fig. 5. Tablet T9



Fig. 6. Tablet T13



Fig. 7. Tablet T14



Fig. 8. Tablet T20

ARAMAIC DOCUMENTS FROM TIL BARSIB*

BY

PIERRE BORDREUIL AND FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET

Two clay tablets

Two clay tablets written in Aramaic were discovered among the cuneiform texts published above (pp. 66-99) during the course of the 1993 excavation season at Tell Ahmar.

T II

The tablet measures 4.3 x 4.0 x 2.1 cm and is light brown/buff in colour. The upper part of the tablet, on which both the beginning and the end of the text was inscribed, is missing. Copy: Fig. 9. Photograph: Fig. 10.

Obv.

.....
1'.]'/WKL. PRŠN
2'.]'/NDN. B'ŠR LŠQLN.
3'. KSP. 'M'N. xxxN. YŠB
4'. ?]xY. WxxN. B[xx]
5'. K'SP. 'RB' M''[']
6'. ŠHD. Š'H'x

Lower edge.

7'. ŠHD. GRD

Rev.

8'. WŠHD. 'NH
9'. ŠHD. BR. GR'
10'. WŠHD. x'K'W
11'. WŠHD. NBY
12'. WŠHD. xRH
.....

1. Horses or riders (PRŠ) are mentioned. The ambiguity of the first visible letter raises the possibility of two interpretations: the text could be about horse food (with 'KL in a construct position), or it could read WKL PRŠN, "and all the horses" or "all the riders". The first interpretation has a parallel with another Aramaic tablet which relates a sale of some "barley for a horse" Š'RN LPR'Š'.¹

* Translated from the French by Michelle Glynn.

¹ P. Bordreuil in *Syrie: Mémoire et civilisation*, Paris 1993, p. 265.

2. The syntagm ŠQLN is probably a dual, which explains why it was not accompanied by a number. The expression BŠR LŠQLN probably means “at ten for two shekels”.

3. KSP 'M'N: the *nun* is clearly followed by a dot, so that a translation “mina” (MNH) is not likely. One could suggest to understand “silver from...”, followed by a proper name of four letters of which only the final *nun* remains. At the end of the line, YŠB, imperfect 3rd person masculine singular of ŠWB, could mean “he will pay” or “he will return”.

4. This line seems to have been added afterwards between lines 3 and 5, as the space between these lines corresponds to the average gap between the other lines. This line probably refers to the parties who will receive the amount, the copula W indicating that they are two.

5. The word [K]SP undoubtedly introduces the total, an amount probably of 400 ('RB' M'[']).

6. The rest of the tablet comprises a list of witnesses (ŠHD), seven of whom are named before the broken end. Such lists are found frequently on parallel documents.² Only the beginning of the first name is legible; it evokes the god Sin (Š'). This name can be compared to that of Š'GBR, priest of Neirab.³

7. This name is probably to be broken up GR “guest”, “client”, “follower of”, and -D. The final -D is an abbreviation of the divine name HDD, known at Ugarit and on the cylinder of GBRD “Gabbar(h')addu” which signifies “Hadad/Adad (is) powerful”.⁴

8. 'NH may be a theophorous name of the god Anu, with an hypocoristic -H. This can be compared with the Akkadian name *Anu-ahha-iddin(a)*, transcribed in Aramaic as 'N'H'TN.⁵

9. The fourth witness is only named by his patronym, which is a hypocoristic of the element GR.

10. The name is unidentifiable.

11. The name is a theophorous of Nabu, with a final hypocoristic -Y.⁶

12. The name is unidentifiable.

² See F.M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Rome 1986.

³ S.A. Kaufman, “On vowel reduction in Aramaic,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 104 (1984), p. 94.

⁴ F. Vattioni, “I sigilli, le monete e gli avori aramaici,” *Augustinianum*, 11 (1971), pp. 47-87, No. 63.

⁵ F. Vattioni, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), No. 124.

⁶ See R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, Louvain 1988, pp. 142, 181.

T 23

The tablet measures 10.8 x 7.1 x 2.4 cm. The clay is very crumbly. It is dark brown in colour. One side is missing. There remains only one inscribed face and the unscripted edges. The text flows across the width of the tablet; a vertical break down the middle has damaged a portion of the text. Six lines are partially preserved. Copy: Fig. 11 (top). Photograph: Fig. 11 (bottom) and 12; C. Zaccagnini, "Sulla collina rossa: Sensazionali scoperte a Tell Ahmar, l'antica Til Barsip, capitale di un potente stato aramaico nella Siria settentrionale," *Archeo*, 10/9 (Sept. 1995), pp. 30-31.

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| 1. MMxx | T. RMYT |
| 2. WSQN | Š'YMR/D [?] |
| 3. xHxWN. | NZ/L. ḤD/RR' |
| 4. Ḥ | ' . WPY'D/RB |
| 5. R/DR/D/ | Š. 'NHDD |
| 6. | xxx |

The state of the tablet does not allow any tentative interpretation to be made. However, it is possible to recognise the syntagm Š'YMR/D at the end of line 2, which is probably a theophorous name of Sin (Š'), as occurred in the preceding tablet. Similarly, at the end of line 5, the proper name 'NHDD is visible, which perhaps can be interpreted as Anu-Hadad. Does this suggest an equivalence between the celestial element and the god of the storm?

There is nothing in the palaeography of these two Aramaic tablets that opposes the date suggested by the eponyms mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian texts from the same archive (7th century B.C.).

Fragment of stone inscription

TAH 89/D1/O.1

Fragment of limestone plaque measuring 9.4 x 8.3 x 2.6 cm. Preliminary publication: G. Bunnens in *L'Euphrate e il tempo: Le civiltà del medio Euphrate e della Gezira siriana*, ed. O. Rouault and M.G. Masetti-Rouault, Milan 1993, No. 385, pp. 385, 473-474. Copy: Fig. 13 (top). Photograph: Fig. 13 (bottom); *Akkadica*, 79-80 (Nov.-Dec. 1992), fig. 19, p. 13; *L'Euphrate e il tempo*, No. 385.

1. LBN. Š[
2. Rx[
3. Š[

.....

The owner of the inscription appears in the first line under his patronym which is introduced, not by the Aramaic word BR "son", but by its western equivalent BN.

4-197. 677 .
 74pw 64w09 . 744
 9w 2.1 . 77 . 777
 1- 9 . 777 . 27
 77 09 . 777
 77 09 . 777

997 . 977

777 . 4777
 777 . 4777
 777 4777
 2 77 . 9777
 1 777 . 7777

Fig. 9. tablet TII



Fig. 10. Tablet T11

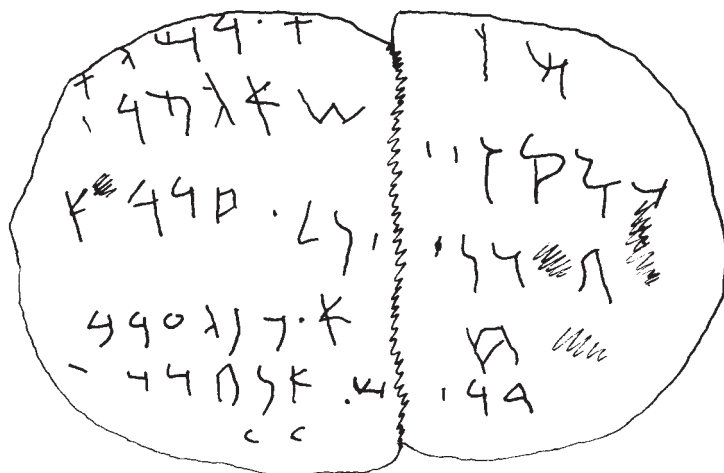


Fig. 11. Tablet T23



Fig. 12. Tablet T23

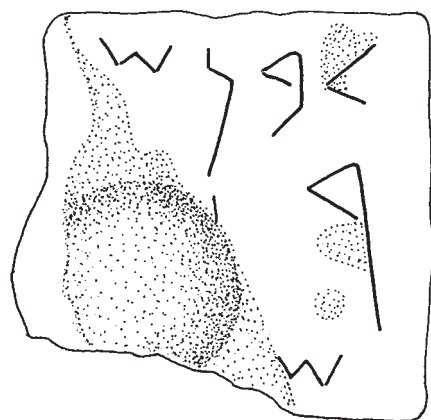


Fig. 13. Fragment of Aramaic stone inscription

A NEW LUWIAN INSCRIPTION OF HAMIYATAS, KING OF MASUWARI

BY

J. DAVID HAWKINS

The present article provides a preliminary publication of the new Luwian inscription discovered at Tell Ahmar in 1994. It has been excerpted from the author's forthcoming *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. The reader is referred to the *Corpus* for full justification of the interpretations adopted here.

The inscription when found formed part of the threshold of the south-western doorway of room XV in Building C₁ (see plan p. 64). The threshold consisted of four slabs of polished basalt. Three were placed in line in the outer part of the doorway towards courtyard XIII and a fourth large slab occupied the entire opening of the doorway towards room XV. The slab forming the south corner of the outer part of the doorway, when turned over, revealed a carefully carved Luwian inscription. The slab rested on several fragments of the same inscription, used to level the ground underneath the threshold.

Description

Dimensions: Preserved height 0.70 m, max. preserved width (side C + frag. b) 0.50 m, max thickness (side D, presumably also side B) 0.10 m.

Copy: Fig. 14.

Photograph: Fig. 15.

The front side of the stele (A), which might have been expected to bear the representation of "this Halabean Tarhunzas" mentioned in § 3 of the text is erased. It was the visible part of the slab reused in the doorway. The left side (B) and lower part of the stele are missing but side B can be partially reconstructed from the preserved fragments. The reverse of the stele bears five lines of inscription with traces of a sixth line. Above the inscription the top of the stele is formed by a low uninscribed area sloping up to the horizontal.

The inscription begins at the left side (B), right edge, running *sinistro-verse* on to the back of the stele (C) and right side (D), continuing *boustrophedon* until breaking off at the end of l. 5 side D. Three joining fragments (a) can be identified as the beginning of the inscription and thus represent side B l. 1, with traces of l. 2; it appears to belong close to the main body of the stele without direct join. It shows the turn of the corner from side B to side C, thus confirming that side B corresponds in width to side D, as would be expected, but the full width of the reverse, side C, is still not exactly determinable. Another fragment (b) joins the main stele directly at the beginning of l. 5. The damage to side B leaves gaps in the text between ll. 2-3 and 4-5, which may be partially filled by another three joining fragments (c) and a single one (d) preserving parts of the right side of the inscription, thus belonging to side B; whether these can be placed in relation to ll. 2-5 is discussed at the end of the commentary. The other fragments (e-k) are small and do not show more than the odd sign.

The stele records a dedication of granaries to the Storm-God of Aleppo by the author's father, and the support offered by the god to the author Hamiyatas at his succession: § 1, name and title of Hamiyatas; §§ 2-4, father's dedication of granaries to Storm-God of Aleppo; §§ 5-[7?], protective curse for granaries; §§ 8-9, death of father; §§ 10-12, favour of "this god" and his spokesman(?); §§ [13?]-14, ...; §§ 15-16, protective curse for granaries and Hamiyatas (protasis); [§ 17...

Transliteration

The text here offered is based on a tracing on acetate kindly made by Dr Stephanie Dalley in Aleppo Museum in September 1994.

General considerations

The history of the city Til Barsib as known from Assyrian historical inscriptions is briefly told. In 856 B.C. as the royal city of the Aramaean Ahuni of Bit-Adini, it was seized by Shalmaneser III, who renamed it Kar-Shalmaneser, "Shalmaneser's colony". Thereafter it remained in Assyrian hands until the fall of their Empire. Its strategic position secured for them the Euphrates crossing just below Carchemish.

The hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the site however show an earlier and longer history, when the city appears to have been ruled for several

generations by an Anatolian not Aramaean dynasty. Two large stelae, TELL AHMAR 1 and 2, were known from before the First and Second World Wars respectively, and were joined soon after the Second World War by the smaller stele ALEPPO 2.

The substantial but damaged texts on these monuments were difficult to interpret, but in my study of them in 1980¹ I was able to show that TELL AHMAR 1 preserved parts of a narrative of a dynasty stretching back to the time of Hapatilas the great-grandfather of the author of the stele, Ariyahinas' son (his own name is lost from the damaged inscription). This line seems to have contested the control of the city with another three-generation line, when the unnamed first of that line seized power from Ariyahinas. He was succeeded by his son Hamiyatas, who treated Ariyahinas' son well, a policy which Hamiyatas' son reversed after his father's death. This led to Ariyahinas's son recovering the power to his own line, in commemoration of which he set up the stele. The stele ALEPPO 2 bears an inscription of Arpas and concerns his relations with his brother Hamiyatas, presumed to be the same as the Hamiyatas of Ariyahinas' son's narrative.

Hamiyatas during his tenure of power set up the stele TELL AHMAR 2, which probably by reason of its damaged state preserves little historical information. These then were our sources for the Anatolian dynasty of Til Barsib in 1980.

Since then there has been an extraordinary access of new material. Immediately after my article, two inscription fragments appeared, one naming Hamiyatas, the other enabling me to show that the Luwian name of Til Barsib was *Masuwari*. Soon after that a new stele was found, BOROWSKI 3 (now in the Borowski collection in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem). The stele, inscribed again by Hamiyatas, recorded his foundation of a city Haruha. Incidentally, by entitling Hamiyatas "King of Masuwari", it confirmed my proposal of this toponym.

Now we have this new stele TELL AHMAR 5, yet another Hamiyatas inscription. This stele records the building by Hamiyatas' father (the usurper of TELL AHMAR 1, still unnamed) of granaries, no doubt in Masuwari, placed under the tutelage of the Storm-God of Aleppo. After his father's death Hamiyatas was supported by this god in his claim to the succession, and as we know, succeeded.

This new inscription presents a number of points of great interest. It provides further confirmation (if needed) on Masuwari, and fits in well with the other sources of information for the dynasty. Aleppo, an ancient

¹ J.D. Hawkins, "The 'Autobiography of Ariyahinas's Son': An edition of the hieroglyphic Luwian stelae Tell Ahmar 1 and Aleppo 2", *Anatolian Studies*, 30 (1980), pp. 139-156.

and famous centre of the cult of the Storm-God lay some 100 km west across the Euphrates from Masuwari. At this date it was probably under the control of the Aramaean state of Bit-Agusi, which later had its capital at Arpad. Shalmaneser III in 853 B.C. made a point of visiting the Storm-God and making offerings.

Most interesting is the support given by the Storm-God, apparently in oracular form, to Hamiyatas' succession. The tantalizing clause § 8 is not at present understood but doubtless expresses something significant. Even more extraordinary is the messenger, divine or more probably human, who delivers the god's message in § 11. This personage is written with the human head with the pair of horns visible on side C, l. 4 towards the left, a sign not elsewhere attested.

In the context, the likelihood is that this character is some kind of diviner or possibly a freelance inspired prophet of a kind encountered intermittently in the Ancient Near East. It is unfortunate that his full message is obscured by the break.

It is probable that the text is close to its end, having lost only the protective curses following §§ 15-16.

Transliteration

- 1, §1. [EGO]-*wali-m*[i] ¹*ha-m*[i]-*ia-t*[a-sa ...?] *ma*-[su]-*wali+ra/i-za-sa* (URBS) | *REX-ti-i-sa*
- §2. |*a-wali za-a-zi* | (*256) *ka-la/i/u-na-zi mi-i-sa'* | *tá-ti-i-sa* | *MANUS. HORDEUM su-wali-ta*
- 2, §3. |*SUPER[+ra/i]-a-ta-p[a]-*||*wali-ta* |*za-a-na* |*TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-wali-ni-na* (URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*na* |("SOLIUM")*i-sà-nu-wali-ta*
- §4. *a-wali za-a-ti-i* | *POST-ni* | *HWI-nu-wali-tá*
- §5. |*za-a-zi-wali* | (*256) *ka-la/i/u-na-zi* | *REL-sa* | x x [...]
- 3, §§6.-7. (frag. c ll. 1-2 here?)
- §8. [*á'*-]*mi-sa-pa-wali-*' | *tá-ti--isa* | *REL-i* | *ARHA MORI-ta*
- §9. |*za-a-pa-wali-ta* *DEUS-ni-na wali+ra/i-li-zi* | *FLUMEN-pi-i* |*INFRA-ta+ra/i* | (LONGUS) *ia+ra/i-ta*
- 4, §10. |*mu-pa-wali-*' | *zi-la* | *za-a-sa DEUS-ni-sa* || | *POST-ni a-tá* *BONUS-li-ia-ta*
- §11. |*wali-mu-*' *pa-si-i-*' | *CORNU+CAPUT-mi-i-sa á-sa₅-za-ta*
- §12. |*SUPER+ra/i-a-wali-ta* | *SA₄(-)**li-li-ia-wali-na-*' | *VAS-tara/i-i-na* *BONUS-li-ia-nu-wali* ... (*wali* ...) [...]

- 5, §13. (frag. *c* l. 3 || frag. *d* l. 1 here?)
 §14. ...]x x-na-' | VAS-tara/i-na | BONUS-li-ia-nu-wa/i-ha
 §15. za-a-zi-pa-wa/i | (*256) ka-la/i/u-na-zi | REL-i-sa | (SA₄)sa-n[i]-ti-i
 §16. [NEG₂-a-pa-[wa/i] ¹ha-mi-ia-ta-[...] | REL-[...] MALUS-t[a₄]-hi-
 x[...]-' | CUM-ni | PES₂(-)wa/i-si-ti ||
 6. §17. [...

Translation

- §1. I (am) Hamiyatas [...?], Masuwarean king.
 §2. These granaries my father filled (with) ... barley,
 §3. and over (them) he set this Halabean Tarhunzas,
 §4. and he “made (them) run” after this (one) (?).
 §5. These granaries (he) who [...
 §§6.-7. ...
 §8. But when my father died,
 §9. the WARALI's *extended* this god to the lower river (??).
 §10. But thereafter this god exalted me,
 §11. and to me his *spokesman* said:
 §12. “[...] cause to exalt high the ... person [...”
 §13. ...
 §14. ...] ... person I caused to exalt.
 §15. (He) who shall overturn these granaries,
 §16. or who shall *come* for Hamiyatas [with (?)] badness,
 §17. [...

Commentary

§1. Frag. *a*, made up of two joining pieces, supplies the introduction with the author's name, revealing yet another Hamiyatas stele. The fragment does not directly join the main stele, though Stephanie Dalley suggests after examining the pieces that the gap might be only 2-3 cm. It is possible that another title intervened between “Hamiyatas” and “Masuwarean king”: cf. the introductions, both damaged, to TELL AHMAR 2 and BOROWSKI 3.

masuwarizas (URBS): since my identification in 1983 of *Masuwari* as the Hittite name of Til-Barsib on the basis of the fragment TELL AHMAR 3, no fewer than three inscriptions have turned up to confirm this, BOROWSKI 3, ARSLANTAŞ, and now the present piece.

§2. (*256) *ka-la/i/u-na-zi*: this clause and §§5 and 15 below provide further examples of the spelling *kaluna-* against the earlier recognized *karuna-*, known from KARATEPE, 40.

MANUS.HORDEUM: again it is gratifying to find in this rather clear context the sign *HH* no. 179, for which I had proposed the interpretation “barley” (HORDEUM) in contexts of statements of ideal price (see AKSARAY, § 4), and in the economic text, KULULU lead strip 1 (see Element 3). The function of MANUS in the group is not immediately obvious. In the present context HORDEUM is probably to be understood in the abl., “with barley”: cf. the comparable context on KARKAMIŠ A30b, §3, where *wali-ni-ti* is interpreted as “with wine”. The present attestation increases the likelihood that the rough oval in the latter context does indeed represent HORDEUM.

§3. SUPER [+ra/i]-a-ta, = **saranta*? Form found in KARATEPE (43, 47, 51, 302), as against the usual SUPER+ra/i-’ (= *sara*, Cun. Luw. *šarra*, *šarri*).
-pa-wali-ta: identify -ta *Ortspartikel*.

§4. *HWI-nu-wali-*, “cause to run”: first Hier. attestation of caus., matching Cun. Luw./Hitt. *huinu-*.

zati: apparently “that (one)”, the god.

Sense: “caused the granaries to run after the god”, presumably idiomatic, “put at disposal of”?

§5. Presumably protective curse formula (protasis) for the granaries, though another such recurs below, §15, and one wonders how different this one could have been.

[§6. Minimum of one clause, apodosis of curse formula, lost here, depending on amount of space missing. For estimates and suggestion of possible words in the gap, see below, reconstruction and discussion of fragments. It is possible that frag. c ll. 1-2 should be placed here].

§8. Cf. TELL AHMAR 1, §§ 10, 18.

§9. *wali+ra/i-li-zi*: apparently the word *warali-*, argued in other contexts to mean “own, proper, appropriate” — see KARATEPE, 366. It appears to be nom. plur. MF, thus the subject. How it could be meaningful in the present context is considered below.

INFRA-ta+ra/i: probably to be identified as the adjective formed on the basis of *anan* (INFRA-na-na), “under”, which is attested in the form *á-na-tarali-[ana(n)tari-]*, KULULU lead strip 1, § 4.15(1).

(LONGUS)*ia+ra/i-ta*: interpreted from other contexts as “stretch out, extend” — see KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §3.

Sense. From interpretations offered elsewhere, we find ourselves committed to some such translation as “the own (people?) extended this god to the

lower river”. It must be admitted that this is not obviously meaningful, yet one can see that slight semantic shifts of the main words could produce some idiomatic sense. Til-Barsib lay on the Euphrates opposite the confluence of the river Sajur, and Aleppo some 100 km. distant across the river. The clause may convey some meaning in this setting.

§10. *zi-la*, “thereafter”: cf. KARKAMIŠ A6, §§15, 17.

POST-*ni a-ta* BONUS-*li-ia-ta*: well enough known in simple and caus. stem (as below, §§11, 13) — see KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §§3-5; A14b, §§6, 7; MARAŠ 4, §§11, 15.

§11. CORNU+CAPUT-*mi-i*:- unique and extraordinary feature of the inscription, shown by context to be acting as the god’s spokesman, thus some kind of priest or prophet, possibly similar to the Hitt. LÚ DINGIR-LIM. The horns on the head presumably represent what was worn by such a person.

ḏ-sa₅-za-, “speak, pronounce”: see ASSUR letters.

§12. SA₄(-)*li-li-ia-wali-na*: possible to reverse order of last three signs to *-wali-na-ia*, but as read, it may give an adj., acc. sing. MF, qualifying *atrin*. In any case the word is quite unknown.

VAS-*tarali-i-na* [*atrin*], also §14, “form, figure, image”: now well attested, see TOPADA, §38.

BONUS-*li-ia-nu-wali*...: unfortunately unclear what the verb ending is. It may be complete as it stands, or the following *wali* may belong with it: either way it could be 1 sing. pres. (for form cf. *ta-nu-wali-wali-i*, “I shall make stand”, and *ha+rali-nu-wali*, “I(?) shall make speak”, KARKAMIŠ A6, §§19, 21); or possibly like the last cited form, 2 sing. imp.

§13. Minimally one clause lost in break: for possible word(s) in gap, see below, discussion of frags. *c* and *d*. A possible *wali*-[*na-*’], “and him”, is visible following BONUS-*li-ia-nu-wali*...

§14. x x-na-’: possibly *mi-* or *mi-i-*, “my”.

§15. (SA₄)*sa-n*[*i*]-*ti-i*: for *sani-*, “overturn”, in context of damage to monuments, see KARKAMIŠ A1a, §4.

§16. Loss of word endings renders exact sense slightly uncertain, though the close parallel KARKAMIŠ A31, §10, points to restorations.

¹*ha-mi-ia-ta*-[*ia*]: indirect object governed by CUM-*ni*, “for”.

REL-[(*i*-)*sa*]: subject “(he) who”, as in parallel.

MALUS-*t*[*a*₄]-*hi-x*[...]-’: parallel has MALUS-*ta*₄-*ti*, the usual abl. of the stem MALUS-*ta*₄/*ta*₅- (see also KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§19, 20; SULTAN-HAN, §21; ALEPPO 2, §24). CEKKE in a further comparable clause (§20) has MALUS-*hi-tà-ri+i*, abl. of the *-ahi(t)-* abstract form, which is clearly what we have here, and suggests as the most likely restoration MALUS-

$t[a_4]-hi-t[\grave{a}-ti]-'$. For phonetic reading and stem forms of MALUS- ta_4/ta_5 , see Hawkins, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 1), pp. 150, 156 add. 3; Starke, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 31, Wiesbaden 1990, §109.

PES₂(-)*wali-si-ti*: some of the parallels quoted above have as verb PES-*wali-* [*awi-*], “come” (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§19, 20; ALEPPO 2, §24), while CEKKE, §20, has (PES₂)*i-*, “go”. Only KARKAMIŠ A31, §10, has PES₂-*si-ti*, hitherto a *hapax legomenon*, which by identification with the present writing is extended by one syllable to (-)*wasi-*. The present attestation also permits the addition of PES₂(-)*wali-sà-i-ta* to the paradigm as 3 plur. pret. a further good example of an *-i-* stem verb with plur. in *-ai-* (see KARKAMIŠ A12, §3). From these contexts it would seem that the present verb is one of motion, as is also implied by the use of the determinative PES₂, but we still cannot be sure that we have a full phonetic writing, thus cannot certainly identify the verb.

Reconstruction of right side of stele

Frag. *a*. The three constituent pieces join neatly. The right-hand piece preserves part of the right edge of the inscription, and the combined fragment shows the turn of the corner from side B to side C, confirming as noted above that side B corresponds in width to side D. The most exact estimate of the width of the trench missing from the right of side C will be made on the basis of how closely frag. *a* is to be placed in relation to the main part of the stele; it seems likely to be about 10 cm.

Frag. *b*. When joined to the main body of the stele, this projects beyond the broken right edge for about 6.0 cm, thus would have belonged entirely to side C and should show no trace of the turn of the corner to side B.

Frgs. *c* and *d*. These both preserve parts of the right edge of the text, but do not directly join it on their left sides. Frag. *c* contains parts of 3 lines (dextroverse - sinistroverse - dextroverse) and frag. *d* parts of two lines (sinistroverse - dextroverse). If frag. *d* were placed above frag. *c*, its two lines would align with stele ll. 3-4 (sinistroverse - dextroverse). Then frag. *c* l. 1 dextroverse could not align with anything before stele l. 6, and its second and third lines would represent lost stele lines 7 and 8. This does not seem likely. So it seems that frag. *d* must be placed below frag. *c*, the two together totalling a minimum of 5 lines (odd numbers - dextroverse, even - sinistroverse), which could match up with stele ll. 2-6 with the same orientation.

Frag. *c* reads: ...]-*h*[*a*²]-*wa/i*[...?]-*mi*||-*i-ta*-' DEUS-*ni-zi*[... which would align with stele, ll. 2-3. The first part has the appearance of being a long particle chain ...]-*h*[*a*²]-*wa/i-mi*||-*i-ta*, unless another sign must be restored above *mi*, which would make [*x*]-*mi-i-ta* a separate word though it is hard to see what this could be. If the full particle chain is accepted, -*mi-i*- (reflexive pronoun 1 sing.) would indicate that the missing verb would be 1 sing., and DEUS-*ni-zi* would be acc. plur. MF. The space between this and the beginning of §8 would according to estimates be somewhat over 10 cm, ample for restoration of verb, and this clause, the missing §6, would have

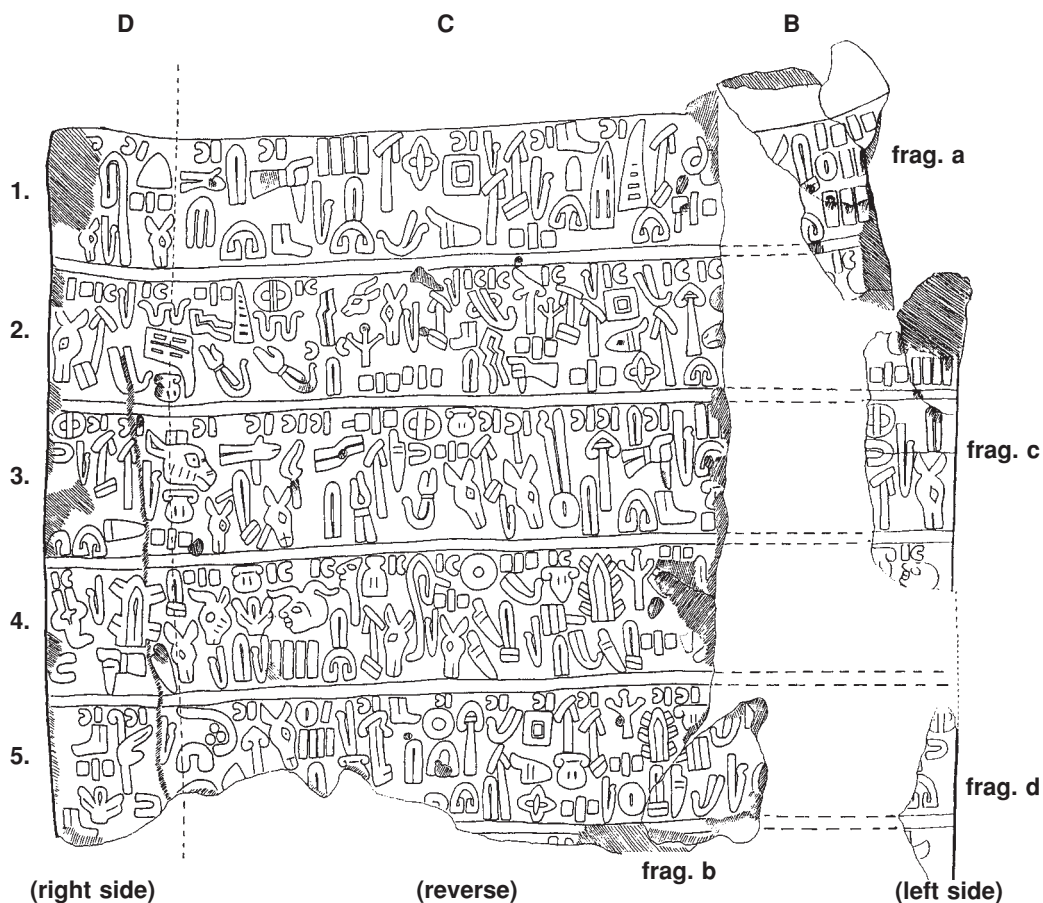


Fig. 14

to mean something like "... [I will] the gods (for) myself ...". It is somewhat difficult to see this as meaningful in the context. Possibly more is missing, a clause before and a clause after?

Frag. *c* l. 3 + *d* l. 1 would read:

... *-pa-*[...]|CAPUT-[...]|DEUS-*ni-sa*[...

The *-pa-* could be part of connective particles, and the appearance of "the god" between §§12 and 14 would be quite natural. Such a placement would suggest the presence of two missing clauses rather than simply the [§13] allowed.

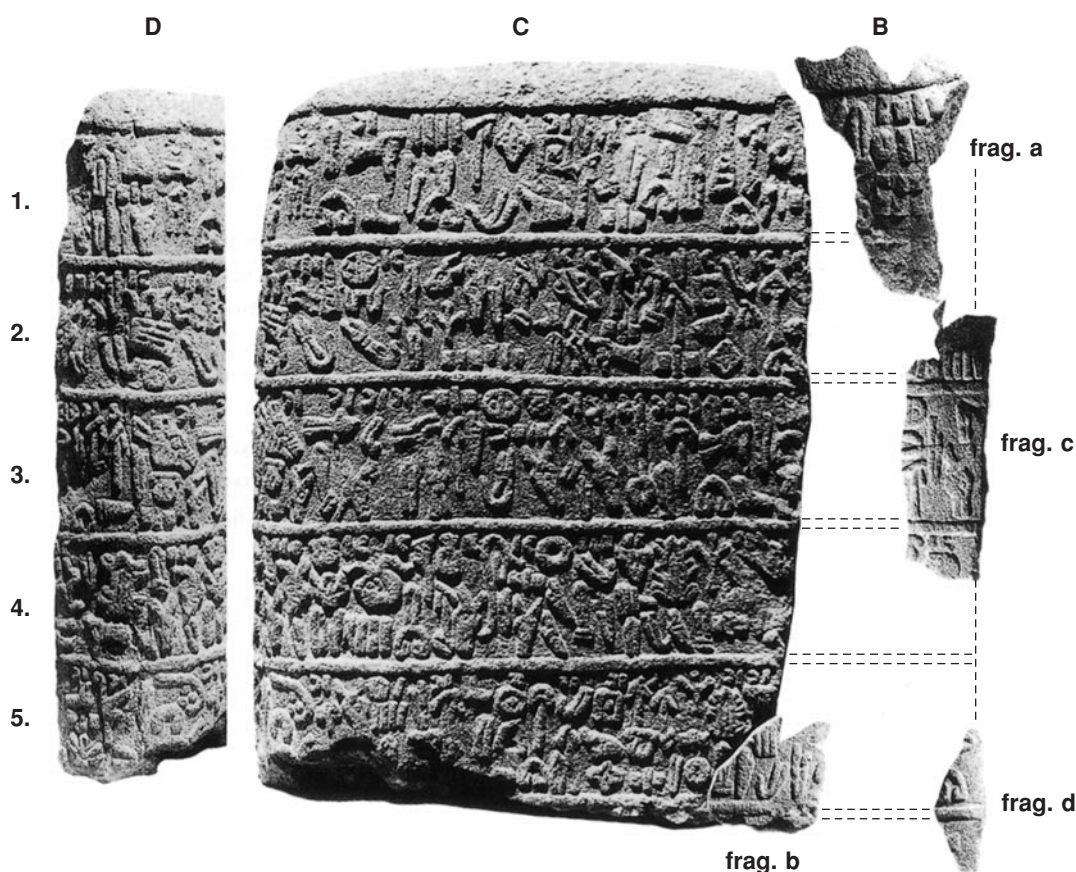


Fig. 15

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE
DES VÊTEMENTS MONASTIQUES

PAR

YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF

La dernière étude publiée sur les vêtements monastiques est celle du professeur R.-G. Coquin parue en 1992.¹ Le professeur Coquin y traitait de diverses sources telles que la *Vita Antonii*, l'*Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, Evagre et Cassien, ainsi que l'histoire lausiaque et les *Apophtegmata Patrum*. Ces sources, appelées "les sources d'origine" par l'auteur, datent des 4^e-6^e siècles.

Le professeur Coquin a également traité des sources du moyen âge (12^e-16^e siècles). Il a encore abordé la question en 1994, en rendant compte du livre de K.-C. Innemée.² Depuis ces études plusieurs publications ont paru, ce qui m'oblige à faire cette petite mise au point.³

M. Leo Depuydt a publié le texte d'une homélie sur les vertus de saint Longin, attribuée à Basile de Pémjé, où nous trouvons:

... ΠΜΟΥΧ̄Ζ Η ΠΑΝΑΛΟΒΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΠΨΑΑΡ ΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ ΕΤΕ
ΤΜΕΛΩΤΕ ΤΕ ΕΥ† ΜΑΕΙΝ ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΟῩCΡ̄Ο̄C....

"The girdle, the mantle and the dead skin which is the ceiling, since they signify death and cross to us."⁴

La traduction de ce texte néglige de rendre le terme copto-grec Η qui veut dire "ou" ("or" en anglais).⁵ Le texte précise que le mot copte ΜΟῩΧ̄Ζ

¹ R.-G. Coquin, "A propos des vêtements des moines égyptiens," *BSAC*, 31 (1992), p. 3-24.

² R.-G. Coquin, Compte rendu de K.-C. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East*, Leyde 1992, *Studies in Textile and Costume History* 1, *BSAC*, 33 (1994), p. 163-166.

³ Un article a paru récemment dans le "*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*" dans lequel M. T. Derda publie une liste des habits monastiques en grec.

⁴ L. Depuydt, "A homily on the virtues of saint Longinus," *Coptology, Past, Present and Future*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 61, *Studies in Honour of Rodolphe Kasser*, Louvain 1994, p. 278 §24.

⁵ M. Bailly, *Dictionnaire Grec-Français*, Paris 1906, p. 888; Liddell & Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1968, p. 761. Ce terme est utilisé dans l'arabe parlé du Caire, cf. G. Sobhy, *Commun Words in the Spoken Arabic of Egypt of Greek or Coptic Origin*, Le Caire 1950, p. 7.

est l'équivalent du terme grec **ἀναβολος** qui veut dire "manteau".⁶ Nous reviendrons sur ce terme ultérieurement.

Pour la traduction de la deuxième partie, **ἡν πωαρ ετμοογτ ετε τμελωτε** "et la peau morte qui est la mèlôte"⁷ (and the dead skin which is the wooly skin). Le traducteur de ce texte a confondu le terme grec avec son homonyme copte **μελωτ**.⁸

Le texte continue à énumérer les habits monastiques en mentionnant

τεκλαατ δε ον εστ μαειν ευζυποτακη... "The hood then signifies submission"⁹

πμοζχ δε η τενζωνη ετμηρ ετνηπε ερταμο μμον....
 "The girdle then or our belt which is bound on our loins, teaches us..."¹⁰

Notons que l'orthographe du terme **μοζχ** est absente des dictionnaires coptes¹¹. De même, nous avons deux termes traduits par l'éditeur comme "girdle" **μοχζ** et **μοζχ** dont les équivalents grecs sont respectivement "manteau" et "ceinture". S'agit-il d'un seul terme avec deux orthographes? Les équivalents grecs ne nous permettent pas d'aller dans ce sens.

L'étymologie de ce mot peut nous aider à en comprendre la signification: il vient de l'ancien égyptien ^{ME} *mdh* qui signifie "bandeau".¹² Nous pouvons donc en déduire que les termes **μοζχ** et **μοχζ** désignent une pièce de laine qui peut être jetée sur les épaules et qui peut servir de ceinture, ce qui a obligé Basile de Pémjé à en donner l'équivalent grec pour montrer l'emploi.

Nous pouvons déduire de cette homélie composée après le concile de Chalcédoine et écrite en 823 apr. J.-C. que les habits monastiques consistaient en:

- 1 – Un manteau qui est une pièce d'étoffe jetée sur les épaules.
- 2 – Une mèlôte en laine.
- 3 – Une cuculle.
- 4 – Une ceinture.

⁶ Il est à noter que seul le terme *ἀναβολη* figure dans les dictionnaires de Bailly, *op. cit.*, p. 117, Liddell & Scott-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 99 "ainsi que le terme *ἀναβολον* cf. Liddell & Scott-Jones, *A Supplement*, p. 11.

⁷ Bailly, *op. cit.*, p. 1277, s.v. *μηλωτή*, Liddell & Scott-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 1127.

⁸ Crum, *CD*, p. 165a.

⁹ Depuydt, *op. cit.*, p. 279, §26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 280, §28.

¹¹ Crum, *op. cit.*, p. 213b, s.v. **μοχζ**; R. Kasser, *Compléments au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum*, BEC VII, Le Caire 1964, p. 34, s.v. **μοχζ**; Klaudios Labib, *Qamus al-lughat al-qibitia al-Masria*, Le Caire 1896, Vol. 2, p. 311, s.v. **μογχα**; H. Tattam, *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum*, Oxford 1835, p. 272.

¹² W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Copte*, Louvain 1983, p. 132-133, J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976, p. 101.

Ceci montre qu'il n'y a pas eu beaucoup de changements par rapport à la première période étudiée par le professeur Coquin, mais que de nouveaux termes ont été introduits.

Une autre homélie attribuée à Stéphanos (Etienne), évêque d'Hnès, sur les vertus de saint Apollo, qui appartient au même manuscrit, nous montre les habits monastiques vers l'an 600 apr. J.-C.¹³:

ΑΥΤΖΙΩΩQ ΝΟΥΛΕΒΙΤΟΥ

"On l'a habillé d'une tunique"¹⁴

ΑΥΤΖΙΩΩQ ΝΟΥΨΑΑΡ

"On l'a habillé d'une peau"¹⁵

ΑΥΤΕΧΩQ ΝΝΟΥΚΟΥΚΡΙΟΝ

"On l'a habillé d'une cuculle"¹⁶

ΑΥΜΟΡQ ΝΝΟΥΜΟΥΧΖ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΣΧΗΜΑ ΝΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΝ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ
ΝΕΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ...

"On l'a ceint d'une ceinture selon les habits d'Elie et de Jean les précurseurs"¹⁷

ΠΕΤΕΜΝΤΑQ ΝΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΕΒΕΡΩΒ ΝΤΜΝ-
ΤΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ...

"...celui qui n'a pas ceux-ci mais porte seulement le bâton de la piété..."¹⁸

Nous avons donc ici une énumération des habits monastiques vers le septième siècle, à savoir la tunique, la peau (le manteau), la cuculle, la ceinture et le bâton.

Quelques remarques s'imposent:

1 – Les deux textes proviennent du même manuscrit, il se peut que le scribe ait adapté les habits monastiques selon les coutumes de son époque, à savoir 823 apr. J.-C.

2 – Les deux textes sont attribués à des évêques de Moyenne-Egypte, à savoir Hnès et Pemjé, ce qui peut représenter une particularité régionale.

3 – Les deux textes parlent des habits des moines vivant en communauté, le cas des ermites peut être différent.

4 – Bien que les noms donnés soient presque les mêmes pour les sources d'origine,¹⁹ la forme peut changer.

¹³ K.H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on Apollo Archimandrite of the Monastery of Isaac By Stephen Bishop of Heracleopolis Magna*, CSCO 394, Louvain 1978, p. XII.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4:13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5:5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5:8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5:14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5:17.

¹⁹ Cf. note 1.

La *Vie de Samuel de Kalamunnous* précise les habits que le saint a reçus de son père spirituel Agathon au désert de Wadi El Natrun vers le début du septième siècle. Il est à noter que le manuscrit a été copié au neuvième siècle dans la région du Fayoum.²⁰ La *Vie* précise les habits d'un ermite au septième siècle à Wadi El Natrun. Il semble que le "schéma" ait eu la forme d'une ceinture. À l'exception de la terminologie, le reste des habits ne diffère pas des autres témoins de la même époque.

... ψΑΛΗ ΕΧΩΡ ΝΚΜΟΡΓ ΖΜΠΕΣΧΗΜΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ... ΑΥΩ
ΑΦΨΑΛΗ ΕΧΕΝ ΤΕΨΤΗΝΕΒΩ ΜΝΤΚΟΥΚΛΙ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΣΧΗΜΑ
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ...

"...Prie sur lui et ceins-le du 'schéma' monastique... et il (Agathon) pria sur la tunique de poils, la cuculle et le saint schéma."²¹

Ces trois témoins comblent en partie nos connaissances sur le développement des habits monastiques à une époque peu connue.

²⁰ A. Alcock, *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter*, Warminster 1983, p. vii-ix.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.4:31 et 40.

REVIEWS

David T. Runia ed., *The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*. Volume VIII. (Brown Judaic Studies 309. Atlanta, Georgia, 1996). Pp. viii + 228. ISBN: 0-7885-0311-1. Price: US\$ 34.95.

This, the eighth volume of the *Studia Philonica Annual*, demonstrates the continuing vitality of contemporary scholarship devoted to Philo of Alexandria and his *Umwelt* of Hellenistic Judaism. Notice is given in the annotated bibliography for 1993 of some seventy-four new works devoted, either entirely or in part, to the writings of Philo, or to the larger world of Hellenistic Judaism.

The present volume of the *Annual* continues the format which has become familiar from previous volumes.

The first section contains four original articles: J. Whittaker, "The Terminology of the Rational Soul in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria", pp. 1-20; K. L. Gaca, "Philo's Principles of Sexual Conduct and their Influence on Christian Platonist Sexual Principles", pp. 21-39; F. Strickert, "Philo on the Cherubim", pp. 40-57; C. Carlier, "Sur un titre latin du *De Vita Contemplativa*", pp. 58-72.

A special section entitled "Philo and Mysticism" presents an introductory notice by G. E. Sterling and three papers delivered at the 1995 meeting of the Philo of Alexandria Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature: D. Winston, "Philo's Mysticism", pp. 74-82; B. E. Daley S.J., "'Bright Darkness' and Christian Transformation: Gregory of Nyssa on the Dynamics of Mystical Union", pp. 83-98; E. R. Wolfson, "Traces of Philonic Doctrine in Medieval Jewish Mysticism: A Preliminary Note", pp. 99-106.

Under the title *Instrumenta* J. R. Royse presents an index to the Eusebian extracts and fragments of Philo translated in the one-volume Yonge edition of the works of Philo in English.

One of the most valuable contributions made by *The Studia Philonica Annual* is the ongoing annotated bibliography of Philo scholarship prepared by the International Philo Bibliography Project, under the leadership of D. T. Runia (Leiden). The present volume of the *Annual* includes an annotated bibliography for works appearing in 1993, with a supplemental section listing newly noted works for the years 1990-1992. Also included is a provisional (unannotated) bibliography of Philo scholarship for the years 1994-1996. This bibliography project is not only a highly useful service to Philo scholars, but also serves as an informative overview of current trends in Philo research.

The usual section devoted to book reviews is prefaced by a review article: David Winston, "Aristobulus: From Walter to Holladay. Holladay's *Fragments From Hellenistic Jewish Authors Volume III: Aristobulus*", pp. 153-166.

The volume is rounded out by news and notes on Philo meetings around the world, and Philo resources on the World Wide Web.

A brief overview of the articles follows.

J. Whittaker, "The terminology of the Rational Soul in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria", pp. 1-20. Whittaker considers a number of characteristic elements of Philo's terminology of the rational soul and establishes their place, on the basis of literary parallels, in the context of Greek philosophical thought, whilst offering nuanced readings of Philo's usage of the same.

K. L. Gaca, "Philo's Principles of Sexual Conduct and their Influence on Christian Platonist Sexual Principles", pp. 21-39. Gaca contends that Philo's reinterpretation of LXX sexual regulations forms one of the bases of Christian Platonist sexual values. Philo's significance stems from his synthesis of Middle Platonist and LXX Pentateuchal sexual principles. Philo's emphasis on "procreationism", a Pythagorean conception argues Gaca, and his emphasis on its normative force by means of equating philosophical natural law with Pentateuchal Law, results in a set of sexual principles which are foreign to the biblical sexual values and to the thought of other major sectors of Judaism. Through his influence on Clement of Alexandria, Philo's synthesis forms a foundation of Christian Platonist sexual values.

F. Strickert, "Philo on the Cherubim", pp. 40-57. Philo is unique, argues Strickert, in interpreting the Cherubim as symbolic of God's kingly and creative powers. Philo's etymology of Cherubim, "Recognition and Much Knowledge", arises out of the LXX readings of Ex. 25:22 and Hab. 3:2. The significance of this etymology lies, not in its description of the nature of the Cherubim, but in its conception of duality. This allows Philo to then employ the Cherubim as a symbol of the Platonic description of God as the one who "makes" and "places" bodies in the heavens, who "creates" and "rules".

C. Carlier, "Sur un titre latin du *De Vita Contemplativa*", pp. 58-72. Carlier sets out to investigate the subtitle "*De Essaeis. Philonis Iudaei liber de statu Essaeorum, id est Monachorum qui temporibus Agrippae regis monasteria sibi fecerunt*" found on a latin translation of *De Vita Contemplativa* published by J. Sichard in Basle in 1527. The subtitle was apparently found in, and was original to, the Lorsch manuscript (now lost) employed in the edition of Sichard. Moreover, the subtitle is dependent upon the Latin translation, rather than the Greek original, of the opening line of the treatise. Carlier argues that, although we cannot date when in the transmission of the Latin tradition of this Philonic treatise the subtitle was added, the subtitle itself employs terminology and conceptions of Philo's world and writings characteristic of Eusebius.

D. Winston, "Philo's Mysticism", pp. 74-82. In the first of the seminar papers on Philo and mysticism, Winston argues that Philo can lay claim to being a mystic within certain restricted parameters. Philo could not envisage achieving a state of undifferentiated union with God, but rather was probably limited to the notion of contact with one aspect of the Deity, the Logos. The Logos embodied all knowledge of God which we might call "mystical" — knowledge involving ecstasy leading to union with God beyond consciousness.

B. E. Daley S.J., "Bright Darkness' and Christian Transformation: Gregory of Nyssa on the Dynamics of Mystical Union", pp. 83-98. Gregory's mystical theology, contends Daley, is strongly influenced by the mystical elements in the theology of

both Philo and Origen. Like Philo, Gregory emphasises that the created intellect can know nothing directly of the essence of God. But although, like Origen, Gregory emphasises personal love for Christ as central to the soul's growth to perfection, for Gregory it is in the person of Christ, in the transformation of a complete human whose humanity God has made his own, that the model and the explanation of the "mystical" union of two unequal realities occurs. Gregory combines Philo's belief in the inconceivability of God with Origen's Christocentrism.

E. R. Wolfson, "Traces of Philonic Doctrine in Medieval Jewish Mysticism: A Preliminary Note", pp. 99-106. In a brief survey of scholarship on the purported influence of Philo upon the development of Medieval Jewish mysticism, Wolfson identifies two sorts of argument regarding this influence: the text-historical which presumes a transmission of Philonic material through a chain of translations; and the phenomenological-typological which presumes striking resemblances in symbolism and ideas found in Philo and the later kabbalists. Sufficient textual evidence to support the first of these contentions is lacking. Whilst the similarity between the Logos doctrine and certain ideas in Medieval mystical writings makes this latter path of investigation seem more promising, there is as yet insufficient evidence to arrive at any certain conclusions. Much work remains to be done.

Amongst the book reviews, Ellen Birnbaum's review of Naomi Cohen, *Philo Judaeus: His Universe of Discourse*. (1995), pp. 189-196, is particularly worthy of attention. As Birnbaum indicates, Cohen's book is a stimulating and worthwhile piece of scholarship, but certain reservations must be expressed concerning her approach to the use of Rabbinic sources, and her overall assessment of the "normative" character of Rabbinic Judaism, particularly for the period of the first century.

Once again the editors of *The Studia Philonica Annual* are to be congratulated on this most admirable publishing enterprise. The *Annual* continues to provide a stimulating forum for scholarship on Philo and the world of Hellenistic Judaism. It deserves to be on the shelves of all those interested in this most fascinating of fields.

Matthew J. MARTIN